The German Tribune

Hamburg, 28 September 1986
Twenty-fifth year - No. 1245 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

Stockholm success: next stop is disarmament

Nato and the Warsaw Pact agreed on a final document at the Stockholm conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe. It was the first East-West document in the military sector for over seven years. All military activities in Europe involving over 13,000 men or 300 tanks are to be notified six weeks in advance. All signatories must permit inspection. Manoeuvre notification was previously mandatory only when over 25,000 men were involved.

Overtime had to be worked to achieve results. The clock even had to be stopped to ensure an orderly end to the Stockholm conference.

For the first time since the Helsinki Final Act, which began the CSCE process in 1975, a European security conference has achieved specific, verifiable results.

The CSCE process has proved its ongoing viability even though it is dependent on the overall political climate and the goodwill of the superpowers.

When the superpowers dragged their heels the other 33 countries represented at the Stockholm conference were unable to make headway, but as soon as Washington and Moscow give the go-ahead the CSCE proves its worth as a forum for cooperation and makes striking progress.

Its brief was to arrive at confidence-building measures designed to reduce the risk of armed conflict and misunderstanding or misinterpretation of military activities.

The Helsinki Final Act first proposed notification and observation of military manoeuvres — on a voluntary basis and as the host country saw fit.

Measures are now mandatory and binding on all. Every CSCE country must be notified of manoeuvres above a certain level and all must be invited to observe such manoeuvres.

The Stockholm conference has succeeded in lowering notification levels and increasing the notice required.

But the crucial headway was made in another sector. The Soviet Union is prepared for the first time to permit inspection on Soviet territory to check whether Moscow is abiding by agreements.

At the opening session of the Stockholm conference two and a half years ago Foreign Minister Gromyko, now the Soviet head of state, said on-the-spot inspection was a Western attempt at espionage and totally out of the question.

Soviet agreement to Western terms on this point assured the conference of an outcome by far exceeding expectations only a few months earlier.

A precedent was established for other arms limitation talks. Logically the Soviet Union must be prepared to accept monitoring of terms agreed on other issues.

No-one will be surprised to learn that the Soviet Union charged a high price for this acceptance of Western demands. There are neutrals who feel the West made too many concessions on other point to ensure the right of inspection.

The threshold for manoeuvres to be notified and observed was substantially reduced, but what at first glance seems to be a fair compromise, lying midway between Western and Eastern starting-points, brings the West scant benefit in the final analysis.

Frankfurter Rundschau

Manoeuvre structures and divisional strengths in the Warsaw Pact are such that a threshold reduction from 25,000 men to roughly half is unlikely to lead to more manoeuvres being observed.

Yet the West would be wrong to be dissatisfied with the final document. The West's basic concept has clearly gained acceptance at the conference.

No mention is made in the Stockholm document of renunciation of first use of nuclear weapons, of nuclear weapon-free zones or of an embargo on chemical weapons; all were Soviet demands in the early stages of the conference. The document concentrates on military-technical measures of confidence-building called for by the West from the outset. A point that detracted from the conference's achievement was the predominance of military blocs, which clashes with CSCE principles. Thirty-five states, not pacts, were to confer on the basis of equality. They failed to do so in Stockholm. Nato and the Warsaw Pact were at loggerheads instead.

When it suited them the Americans and Russians retired for bilateral talks and arranged matters to their liking. Their allies, at least their major allies, were allowed a say in the proceedings.

At times of crisis they ensured that talks did not grind to a total halt.

The successful conclusion of the Stockholm conference should ensure the Vienna CSCE review conference, preliminaries for which are shortly to begin, of a promising start.

Without losing sight of the contents of the other Helsinki "baskets" it ought to be used to embark as soon as possible on the second stage of confidence-building and disarmament in Europe.

Agreement having been reached on confidence-building, disarmament must come next.

Hannes Gamillscheg
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 September 1986)

German border claims another victim

Rumours are bound to spread when a high-ranking retired Bundeswehr officer takes a walk so close to the Iron Curtain that he is shot and killed by East Bloc soldiers opening fire on refugees.

But that is only one side of the Tirschenreuth tragedy in which a Bundeswehr lieutenant-colonel (retd) was shot by Czech border guards firing at Polish refugees escaping to the West.

The more important aspect of the incident is that it, and others like it, still happen on borders in the heart of Europe.

Another characteristic feature of the situation in divided Europe is that two Poles risked trying to escape via Czechoslovakia and that shots were fired by border guards of a country other than their own.

This chain of unfortunate circumstances emphasises the human tragedy; the death of a pedestrian in his own country stresses its political significance.

The Czech border guards dragged the dying man into Czechoslovakia, allegedly to help him. As shots are often fired on the intra-German border, at refugees and in the direction they are heading — to the West —, it is surprising the tragedy hasn't been repeated more frequently.

The fact certainly is that a third party who had nothing whatever to do with what was going on was shot and killed during a bid to escape to the West.

Kurt Liechtenstein, a Dortmund journalist, died in much the same way 25 years ago. He was covering the intra-German border when East German border guards shot and killed him too.

Herbert Wegener
(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 22 September 1986)

Mrs Thatcher in Bonn

British Prime Minister Thatcher with Chancellor Kohl at a Press conference in Bonn (See Page 2). (Photo: dpa)

Europe wriggles out of tight apartheid corner

The European Community has succeeded yet again in wriggling out of an awkward corner. The decision by the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve to impose sanctions on South Africa may at first glance seem to have been a feeble compromise.

But on closer scrutiny the Twelve can be seen to have achieved a remarkable success in Brussels.

Economically the sanctions as agreed hardly deserve the name. To be really effective and hurt South Africa, imports of coal would have had to be banned. But they weren't, which is just as well.

An embargo on imports of coal would have hurt black miners and the front-line states. The Europeans were astute in banning imports of iron and steel. The European steel market is under pressure and can do with relief.

So the Brussels decision must be assessed on a political basis. The European Community has given a warning.

The apartheid regime now knows that Europe is not going to make do with mere lip service, while some of the credibility the Twelve have forfeited with black African states as a result of tactical manoeuvring will have been regained.

Last but not least, the Community has proved itself capable of political action.

Yet that cannot be the end of the matter. What will happen if South Africa fails to make any real move toward reducing racial segregation? Will the European Community then impose tougher sanctions?

What if the United States calls on Europe to impose sanctions on Libya?

In Brussels the Community parted company with a principle. It doubtless had to do so, but it must expect to have to face the consequences.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 17 September 1986)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

French find themselves in a crabpot of terror

Süddeutsche Zeitung

President Mitterrand cut short a state visit to Indonesia and returned to Paris.

The French Prime Minister, M. Chirac, cancelled a visit to Vienna. Shops and restaurants on the Champs Elysées reported turnover down by as much as 50 per cent.

Metro and suburban electric trains were emptier than usual, and only 17,000 fans thronged through the turnstiles at the Parc des Princes to see a European Cup soccer match.

A sandwich vendor at the Gare St-Lazare reported sales down to zero as commuters hurried from their suburban trains and out of a station that could be the scene of the next terrorist bomb raid.

France is fear-stricken after six raids in 12 days, eight dead and 260 wounded. Why, the French wonder, are they the main target of Middle Eastern terrorists?

The range of French interests in the southern and eastern Mediterranean may be the reason. Since the region has emerged as the Balkans of the final quarter of this century these interests have almost inevitably involved France in the many local conflicts.

France supplied Libya with modern weapons and then had to intervene in Chad to prevent it from being taken over by Colonel Gaddafi.

The best missiles and aircraft Iraq has at its disposal in the Gulf War are supplied by France, yet Paris is also negotiating with Teheran on normalisation of relations and the transfer of $1bn dating back to the Shah's days.

France has traditionally been the Lebanese Catholics' protecting power, yet it was the first Western European country to voice understanding for the Palestinians' claims.

The Fourth Republic firmly sided with Israel and against Arab nationalism.

After de Gaulle's volte-face the Fifth, under Mitterrand, has tried to find a *policy that pleases all and upsets no-one.*

The thicket of friendship and hostility, loyalty and the desire for vengeance resembles nothing so much as a crab pot.

Wherever you probe it, everything starts to move, setting off a chain reaction in which who nips who becomes unpredictable.

If there can be said to be any common ground shared by the Lebanese Marxists of Catholic extraction who are responsible for bomb raids in Paris, the Shi'ite fundamentalists whose target is French UN troops in southern Lebanon and the Armenian extremists keen to secure the release of imprisoned comrades, then it is their "anti-imperialism."

France as they see it has become a lackey of the United States in the Middle East. The purpose of the bombings, inasmuch as they can be said to serve any rational purpose, is to force France to scale down its role in the region, or at least to embark on a change of course.

These are the roots of the common interest that predestines the intelligence services of certain states to support the terrorists.

No-one in a position of responsibility in Paris believes for a moment that 700 hill-farming members of the Abdallah clan are the sole financial and logistical backbone of the bomb-layers.

France is rated vulnerable. The police and intelligence services, seen for a century by French left-wingers as instruments of the bourgeois state, were brought to heel from 1981 when the Socialists came to power under President Mitterrand.

Right-wingers lamented their dismantling, while left-wingers called for the abolition of "repression structures."

There can be no doubt that the police machinery has grown less effective. Hundreds of thousands of foreigners live illegally in France: some with genuine papers but without residence permits, others with forged papers, others with none at all.

Trying to identify the terrorists among the mass of harmless illegal immigrants is like looking for a needle in a haystack.

Together with French sympathisers and legally resident foreigners the illegal immigrants form the water in which, to quote Chairman Mao, partisan fish must swim.

M. Chirac has announced that France's answer to the terrorists' backers will be shattering and without the least suspicion of weakness.

A few days spent searching for the terrorists and their backers without tangible success need not signify impotence.

But the longer the terrorist raids continue and the greater the general state of nervousness becomes, the greater will be the pressure on M. Chirac to act.

Otherwise the terrorists will stand to achieve their main objective, that of destabilising French society.

The government is far from exhausting the means at its disposal. When 58 French soldiers died in a car bomb raid on a Beirut barracks in October 1983 French planes bombed a Shi'ite extremist camp near Baalbek.

The French government can proclaim a state of emergency for 12 days without needing parliamentary approval in order to gain control over the domestic situation.

In a state of emergency the government is entitled to censor the media, to expel unwanted residents, to *require* others to stay in certain *places, to limit* freedom of movement *and* assembly, to commandeer property and equipment and to search homes *at night.*

During the *1968* unrest France managed without declaring a state of emergency, whereas one was proclaimed in 1962, in the dying days of the war in Algeria.

In those days there was less terrorism than there is now.

Rudolph Chimelli

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 19 September 1986)

Rhine Army at centre of British dilemma

By some strange coincidence the debate on cuts in the British Army of the Rhine has resumed at the very moment Chancellor Kohl and the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, paid the BAOR their first joint visit.

The subject was raised in the wake of drastic defence spending cuts discussed in confidential documents found on the Thames towpath near Reading.

Defence Secretary George Younger denied that the cuts were already government policy but the debate has made one point most clear.

It is that Britain is steadily less able to fulfil its many defence commitments in Nato, to defend the Falklands, to station troops in Northern Ireland and to modernise its Polaris missile fleet.

Cuts must be made somewhere or other, and whenever the subject is raised, mention is made of the BAOR. Yet Whitehall can only make cuts to British forces in Germany by amending treaty commitments.

This point apart, one wonders whether the documents were lost deliberately or not. Their discovery in time for the party conference season and an important meeting of high-ranking naval officers would seem to indicate a deliberate leak.

The Royal Navy is certainly engaged in a tooth-and-nail fight against any cuts in its fighting strength.

Hans-Heinz Schlenker

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 16 September 1986)

Geneva talks crucial to summit chances

Another round of superpower talks on reducing strategic weapons has begun in Geneva. The talks will be a major factor in whether President Reagan and Mr Gorbachov will meet for a second summit.

The fronts have grown less inflexible. In August talks were held by Soviet and American experts in Washington on preventing a nuclear war from taking place by mistake.

In Berne and Geneva US and Soviet delegates discussed a ban on chemical weapons. In Moscow and Washington talks have been held on strategic and space weapons. In Moscow Afghanistan has also been discussed.

Last not least, the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe is on the brink of agreement.

The dispute on a total embargo on nuclear tests has almost entirely predominated on the political stage in recent weeks and months.

The Soviet proposal, launched by Moscow in a hail of propaganda, is much more effective in terms of publicity than arduous bargaining over partial and gradual reduction of extremely complex strategic weapon systems few really understand.

The Americans have been reduced by propaganda broadsides to the position of appearing to be the side that constantly says "no."

This is somewhat ironic inasmuch as the Americans have lately begun to respond to Mr Gorbachov's spectacular disarmament proposals with counter-proposals of their own.

But as the Geneva talks are held in camera these beginnings of American readiness to compromise remain concealed from a wider public.

What has been leaked from Washington about the latest US approach to these problems would seem to indicate a certain readiness on the Reagan administration's part to compromise on strategic arms and maybe even SDI.

The Americans are certainly prepared to meet the Russians half-way on ceilings for strategic weapons. They seem willing to consider a ceiling of 7,500, as against the original target of 6,000 strategic weapons.

That would go a long way toward the Soviet ceiling proposal, 8,000, and the Americans would be prepared to consider higher ceilings for land-based systems and cruise missiles.

They would even agree to mobile strategic missiles as long as their number could be effectively controlled.

It is worth noting that all these proposals, assuming them actually to have been made in Geneva, amount to an increase in ceilings previously considered the upper limit. The only point on which Washington stands firm is a 50-per-cent reduction in thrust. But the general trend, as here reaffirmed, is toward the superpowers seeking compromise at higher levels, not lower.

There is bound to be a substantial scaling-down of the target, as proclaimed at last year's Geneva summit, of a 50-per-cent reduction in strategic weapons.

Washington also seems prepared to reconsider the trickiest issue, SDI, which the Russians see as a breach of Salt 1, which banned development of anti-missile systems.

President Reagan has in contrast stated what the United States will from October no longer feel bound by Salt 1 in view of the many Soviet breaches of the treaty.

The Soviet Union then proposed a 15-year renewal of the treaty, a limitation of SDI research to laboratory work and a reduction in strategic weapons.

An American counter-proposal based on these ideas has now been submitted. It would abide by Salt if the Soviets accepted continued research, development and testing of SDI systems.

It would be possible to ascertain whether such systems were feasible and in the interest of both sides.

Nothing is officially known about how much of these plans has been proposed to Moscow, but the Kremlin has so far been reserved.

Leeway for compromise on SDI remains limited, and as progress on strategic weapons is linked with headway on SDI, tough negotiations still lie ahead in Geneva.

It would then be for Reagan and Gorbachov to make a breakthrough in Washington — if a summit is held.

Curt Gasteyger

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 19 September 1986)

The German Tribune

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene Aussicht, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02-14733.
Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.

Advertising rates list No. 15.
Annual subscription DM 45

Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck, Hameln.
Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc., 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

■ HOME AFFAIRS

East Berlin to cut transit asylum traffic

The East Berlin government has agreed to stop transit passengers from going through to West Berlin unless they have visas. The step is a crucial one in the West German effort to stop the flood of people from the Third World seeking asylum. The border between East Berlin and West Berlin is an East Berlin invention. The West has avoided setting up its own border checks because this would be tantamount to recognition that the border is an international one. The West says the whole of Berlin is under four-power control. The news of the East German decision came from the Opposition Social Democrats and was a surprise for the government coalition in Bonn.

The news sheet distributed by the press office of the SPD executive committee did not at first glance appear to contain anything new.

It began with a long-winded and admonitory statement by Shadow Chancellor Johannes Rau on the asylum problem in Germany.

The sensation was on page 2: Rau had been given the assurance by East German authorities that only visa holders would be allowed to use East Berlin as a transit to West Berlin.

The full impact of the message, which Bonn had hoped for but hardly expected yet, was guaranteed even though there was not the usual prior announcement that usually accompanies any piece of hot news to the agencies. The confirmation of the East Berlin concessions on this issue was the scoop of the day.

The SPD willingly provided more detailed information on its negotiations with East Berlin and visibly basked in the sunshine of its apparent success.

The general election campaign is clearly underway.

The SPD's coup also surprised the government in Bonn.

It too was hoping to persuade the East German authorities to help stem the increasing flow of refugees who have been able to enter West Berlin via East Berlin without being controlled.

The problem has strained relations between the two countries.

While the SPD's press announcement was causing a stir in Bonn, Egon Bahr, a member of the SPD presidium, was informing the unsuspecting minister of state in the Bonn Chancellery, Wolfgang Schäuble (CDU), about the decision.

All this took place in the morning. The Bonn government was officially informed about the move later on in the afternoon.

For a few hours at least the hedgehog in the general election campaign, the SPD, was a few steps ahead of the government hare.

The Chancellery was noticeably annoyed at the situation, which triggered a subsequent dispute between the two political camps over which group really deserves the credit for successfully persuading the East Germans to back down from their previously uncompromising position.

"Party-political tactics" said the government; ineffective negotiations by the government, said the SPD. The quarrel blurs the fact that both sides worked together.

Rau says he asked Bahr to seek negotiations with East Berlin at the beginning of August after it became clear that the asylum problem was an all-party affair.

The SPD also brought other connections with the East German Socialist Unity Party (SED) to bear.

The SPD's parliamentary party chairman, Hans-Jochen Vogel, for example, talked to East German oficials at the SPD party congress in Nuremberg.

Bahr was the first to be informed of the GDR's decision by Politburo member Hermann Axen. Bahr and Axen had often discussed the possibility of a nuclear-free corridor in Europe.

Bahr is convinced that East German leader Erich Honecker gave Hermann the go-ahead for the latest move.

Wolfgang Clement, spokesman of the SPD executive committee, feels that both Rau and Bahr deserve the gratitude of the Bonn government for their initiative and success. He cannot seriously expect this.

There was a sour atmosphere in the Chancellor's office in Bonn, even though all efforts were being made to convey an air of composure.

The government in Bonn must feel duped by the East German government.

Bonn's permanent representative in East Berlin, Hans Otto Bräutigam, was requested by the East German government to come along on the afternoon of 18 September to receive Erich Honecker's reply to Bonn's demands on the asylum issue.

This was long after the SPD had hit the headlines with its sensational news.

Up until then, Schäuble had received no official announcement of any kind.

Bonn, however, was optimistic and had gained the impression that the warnings issued during the summer that the asylum question could become a burden to German-German relations had been heard in East Berlin.

Unnoticed by the media, Schäuble visited Erich Honecker on 29 August to underline the urgency of the situation.

In a roughly two-hour discussion and similarly lengthy talks with East German Foreign Minister Fischer, Schäuble stated in no uncertain terms that, in Bonn's opinion further progress in relations between the two countries could only be achieved if a solution were found to the asylum problem.

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Honecker told Schäuble that he could expect an official announcement on the issue in the near future and asked Schäuble to name someone whom he could notify first.

Schäuble named state secretary Hans Otto Bräutigam.

Since this meeting on 29 August nothing really specific has been said. The Chancellor's office has now been obliged to read the SPD news sheet to find out what is going on.

It is understandable, the Chancellery felt, that the SED is "unwilling to put a spoke in the wheels of its comrades" in the SPD.

East Berlin's support for the SPD, it claimed, only showed whom it expects to win the election.

It is unnecessary to add that the Chancellery had the government coalition parties in mind.

Claus Wattermann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 19 September 1986)

A long battle to end the open season for refugees

West Germany is the only country constitutionally guaranteeing refuge to the politically persecuted. It is a guarantee that, for many years, has been abused.

As early as 1978 the Bonn Interior Minister and the interior ministers of the states agreed that measures must be taken to prevent an abuse of asylum laws by economic refugees and by others falsely claiming political persecution.

The number of asylum applications increased from 5,300 in 1972 to 16,000 in 1977.

The figure rose sharply after 1977 and in 1985 was about 72,000. This year's figure is expected to exceed 100,000.

The situation was described as increasingly dramatic, especially by politicians from the conservative parties, CDU and CSU.

The heated political discussion reached its peak when certain members of this political camp called for an amendment of Article 16 of the Basic Law, which states that "persons persecuted on political grounds shall enjoy the right of asylum."

Over fifty per cent of the refugees who come here take advantage of Berlin's special status to enter West Berlin via the East Berlin airport Schönefeld without a visa.

They are often helped by professional rings engaged in channelling immigrants into countries with liberal asylum laws.

Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann says the Soviet Union and East Germany were trying to destabilise the political situation in the Federal Republic *by helping so many asylum-seekers to* transit their territory on their way to the West.

In spring 1986, East Berlin announced that citizens from some countries, especially Tamils from Sri Lanka, would only be allowed to cross East German territory on their way to West Germany if they had entry permits.

This, however, did not apply to refugees travelling from East to West Berlin, "since Berlin (West) is under occupation law and is not part of the Federal Republic of Germany and cannot be governed by it".

Foreigners without a visa, therefore, were free to enter West Berlin.

In June 1986 the Bonn coalition parties CDU/CSU and FDP reached agreement on a long-disputed amendment of the laws dealing with the processing of asylum applications with the aim of speeding up the asylum recognition procedure.

It was hoped that speedy processing of applications and an accelerated deportation of economic refugees would have a deterrent effect.

Many politicians say the laws as they are plus the chance of working illegally encourages applicants.

Bavaria's state premier Franz Josef Strauss (CSU) warned that the "Federal Republic of Germany must not become a country of immigration".

He was one of the chief campaigners for an amendment to consitutional law, a move rejected by the FDP, SPD and the Greens.

According to Strauss, the vast influx of foreigners was already causing aggravation and increasing hostility towards foreigners in the communities in which asylum applicants were accommodated.

The residents of certain areas in which these foreigners live have indeed protested against their unwelcome neighbours. There were even bomb attacks on refugee hostels.

The illegal transportation of 152 Tamils from West German territory highlighted the seriousness of the problem.

At the end of July it was announced that the CDU/CSU was considering economic sanctions against East Germany in an effort to stem the flow of refugees via East Berlin.

The East German news agency ADN accused "certain politicians" in the Federal Republic of Germany of a "large-scale and unbridled smear campaign against East Germany".

In their capacity as guarantor powers for the status of Berlin the three western allies called upon the Soviet Union on 8 August to intervene on the asylum issue.

On 15 August the Bonn government announced its intention to clamp down on professional refugee-running rings.

On 27 August Bonn decided to slow down the inflow of economic refugees via various measures and to do more to harmonise European asylum laws.

On 18 September East Berlin backed down from its previously unyielding position by announcing that refugees entering West Berlin via East Berlin must have an official transfer visa.

dpa

(Kieler Nachrichten, 19 September 1986)

Quiet approach better than pandemonium

The wave of criticism in West Germany over the flood of asylum applicants coming through East Berlin to the West was looked upon by the East Berlin authorities as a sort of theatre.

Some more-unconsidered remarks may have even provoked the East Germans to play off West German political parties against one another.

It was only after the Bonn government and Opposition joined forces on the issue that the SED Politburo realised that the blame for any deterioration in relations could be laid at its own doorstep if it didn't do something.

Diplomatic contacts were established via Bonn's permanent representation in East Berlin, followed by top-level talks with the state minister at the Bonn Chancellery, Wolfgang Schäuble.

The SPD also took advantage of its political contacts with the SED.

All these efforts made it clear that if East Germany didn't show itself to be more accommodating on this issue relations between the two countries would deteriorate.

The visit to Moscow by Bonn foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher also seems to have prompted a more conciliatory stance.

The SED's announcement left the Bonn government standing out in the cold, giving the impression that talks between the SPD and SED had induced the East German authorities to reconsider their previous policy.

However, joint efforts were the real motor allowing the 'stumbling-block' in German-German relations to be cleared away.

Once again it became clear that success can only be achieved via persevering and joint action behind the scenes, not via party-political pandemonium.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 19 September 1986)

■ THE LEGAL SYSTEM

3,000 lawyers meet for heated debate — but most go home before the vote

When the 3,000 lawyers who attended the 56th German Lawyers' Congress in Berlin left for home they did so with a feeling that the world had been put to right.

After four days of heated debate on such newsworthy issues as artificial insemination by donor, euthanasia and the new broadcasting regulations the legal profession left the city's International Congress Centre to get back to business as usual.

Even the judges, public prosecutors, practising attorneys, administrative and company lawyers who had been defeated in hours of voting on extremely detailed proposals didn't seem unduly upset.

The consoled themselves with the thought that traditional congress resolutions have for some time been controversial among members of the largest organisation representing the entire profession.

DIE WELT

Understandably, only 600 of the 3,000-plus delegates took part in the debate.

The overwhelming majority had long gone home when the chairmen of the five committees called for a vote on their detailed proposals.

The committee entrusted with looking into the legal framework of new broadoasting regulations found its task predictably intractable.

Even such well-known specialists as Munich constitutional lawyer Peter Lerche, Fritz Ossenbühl and Ernst-Joachim Mestmäcker, the Hamburg specialist in legal aspects of competition, had to deal with a legal state of affairs that will only be binding until 4 November.

In November the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe will announce its ruling on the dispute over the Lower Saxon Broadcasting Act, turning over a new leaf in media policy.

Not even committee chairman Professor Ossenbühl was able to say why the congress had not made use of its constitutional option to dispense with a resolution on the subject.

Arguably in view of the forthcoming Constitutional Court ruling, most of the recommendations made in the resolution on broadcasting, a resolution approved by a very narrow majority, were extremely non-committal.

They stressed, for instance, that a twofold system of public and commercial broadcasting authorities must be arranged in keeping with constitutional principles. True no doubt, but not very helpful.

A resolution proposed by Herr Schonebohm of the Hesse *Land* government was, of course, approved. The congress ruled that it was up to the *Land* legislature to make provisions governing regional commercial broadcasting.

Hesse's ruling coalition of Social Democrats and Greens may have been delighted with this success in Berlin but it would be almost false pretences to claim the ruling was a recommendation by the 1986 German Lawyers' Congress.

The vote was 37 for, 35 against and six abstentions: hardly an overwhelming endorsement!

The civil law committee arrived at clear majorities on most recommendations in connection with artificial insemination by donor, test-tube babies and the like.

But the package as approved still contained a whole range of incongruities.

There was a clear majority in favour of embryos only being produced for the purpose of subsequent implantation and not for research purposes.

But oddly enough, by a majority of 64 to 48, with 10 abstentions, it was decided that embryos that could not be implanted should be "left to their fate."

Resolutions approved by the lawyers' congress are invariably given substantial media coverage, but it would be wrong to see them as the yardstick of the "nation's legal conscience."

It is far more important for the congress, held every other year, to deal with the right topics and to debate them at a qualitatively high level.

Viewed in this light, the president of the 1986 congress, Marcus Lutter, was right in feeling the proceedings had been a success.

Professor Lutter, a Bonn company lawyer, is generally disposed toward sounding a conciliatory note.

Yet in his final remarks he used strong words, due largely to recommendations "from Cologne and Munich" on supplementary elections to the congress's management committee.

These recommendations so incensed Professor Lutter that he compared the proceedings with "elections" in other countries that "we view with contempt."

The 24-member committee, now including Alwin Eser, head of the Max Planck Institute of International Criminal Law in Freiburg, and Konstanz labour lawyer Bernd Rüthers, will not only need to worry "what measures are required to ensure the congress's independence."

The committee, a governing body in charge of business between congresses, will also need to consider whether its work is still in keeping with the times.

If the congress is not to forfeit the independence to which it laid claim at nearly every opportunity in Berlin it will almost certainly have to dispense entirely with voting whether it wants to or not.

Votes are a temptation to lobbies to seek to influence the congress, and this they did in Berlin as in the past, although neither as heavily nor as ineptly as has been known to happen.

Yet the congress remains the major forum on legal issues, as was shown by the earnest of the euthanasia debate, in which speakers included such leading non-legal authorities as Professor *Julius* Hackethal, the well-known *surgeon.*

He pleaded for euthanasia charges not to be preferred in certain circumstances, such as when the patient wants to die, the disease is incurable and doctor and patient have long been on good terms.

This idea failed to meet with approval but his views were debated level-headedly by practising doctors and lawyers and experts in criminal law.

The overwhelming majority of speakers warned against indiscriminate use of the term *Sterbehilfe*, literally: helping people to die.

It implied both euthanasia and the legal obligation on the doctor to undertake all manner of medical treatment, including measures designed to relieve pain.

Henning Frank

(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 September 1986)

Weizsäcker in a call for changes

Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker had a great deal to say in his address to the German Lawyers' Congress in Berlin.

He dealt with a wide range of fundamental and specific points in the all-embracing context of the law and commented in general terms on democracy and the intellectual state of society.

His speech was circumspect and thoughtful, laced with suggestions, warnings, requests, praise and words of appreciation.

He went far beyond the perimeter of the law, a wide-ranging subject in itself, outlining his ideas on the tasks and limitations of the law, of lawyers and of society and on truth, freedom and justice.

His consistent plea for a humane, liberal legal system was particularly striking on two counts: minority rights and ensuring that the law is understandable.

The President had encouraging words for psychiatric patients and for victims *and* culprits in criminal court cases and even called on society to help terrorists.

His call for convicts to be dealt with individually, running the risk of misjudgement, may not have been welcomed by all, but he has at least toured prisons personally and so has first-hand knowledge on the subject.

He called for a system of justice that came as close as possible to the ordinary citizen and could be understood by him.

Herr von Weizsäcker found words of praise for the work of the legal profession since the Second World War.

His speech was laced with ideas, most couched as questions or in descriptive phrase and few as specific statements.

They dealt with topics ranging from legal training to the law as an academic discipline and from the historic responsibility enjoyed by judges to an impassioned appeal for scrupulous care in arriving at judgments.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 10 September 1986)

Patent court judge first woman to head a federal bench

The Federal Patent Court in Munich has a new chief justice, Elisabeth Steup. She is the first woman ever to head a Federal court.

The court was set up 25 years ago as a division of the Federal Patent Office, of which it still forms part.



The new head of the Federal Patent Court, Elisabeth Steup, with Bonn Minister of Justice, Hans Engelhard, at the ceremony appointing her. (Photo: dpa)

It is the largest Federal court in the country, with a staff of 150 judges. Justice Minister Hans Engelhard spoke at a ceremony marking Frau Steup's appointment.

He said the appointment of a woman to head the court would encourage many women in their careers.

Frau Steup was a senior official at the Federal Justice Ministry and has no previous experience as a judge, but Herr Engelhard said she was an expert on commercial and copyright law.

In her speech she said she owed her appointment to the great confidence the Minister placed in her. The Patent Court's work would be predominated by the pace of scientific development in, say, microelectronics and biotechnology.

She called on patent court judges to bear trends in other European countries in mind in their assessment of technological issues.

Her predecessor, Karl Ernst Pakuscher, who headed the court for 14 years, said cases had been handled much faster during his tenure.

Noting that members of his bench usually came up from the ranks of Patent Office examiners, he advised Frau Steup to make appointments heedless of party politics.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 September 1986)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Nato warns against thinking that new tone from Moscow is more conciliatory

Bonn and Brussels have increasingly referred to a new situation in East-West relations now the Soviet Union, and Mr Gorbachov in particular, has developed a keener awareness of public relations.

Dulcet tones from Moscow and fine packaging of hard-nosed policies have steadily weakened the impression of a permanent threat from the East.

But Nato strategists warn against a certain naivety. Mr Gorbachov, they point out, was appointed to make the Soviet system more efficient, not to supplant it.

Moscow invariably bears in mind the likely effect of Soviet measures on Western public opinion, almost always in the hope, as Nato experts see it, of gaining additional concessions from the West.

Soviet negotiators don't aim to reach agreement on what both they and the West would consider fair terms; their brief is to squeeze the maximum possible for the fatherland out of the other side.

Nato now plans to to put to use the Soviet practice of increasingly harnessing public opinion by launching a propaganda campaign of its own.

Young people are seen as an important target group. They have an increasing say in politics and are to be plied with information making it clear that the



military situation in Europe remains critical and the balance can still only be maintained by means of deterrent strategy.

This strategy alone has ensured stability and order in Europe for the past 37 years.

The Soviet Union may on several occasions appear to have grown more flexible, but Nato officials feel the facts tell a different tale.

The latest disarmament proposals by Moscow contained nothing but hints at concessions that soon proved unrealistic and mere variations on proposals submitted years ago.

This, they say, is the background against which negative responses in the West must be seen.

Nato thus continues to abide by the flexible response strategy although the debate on a new strategy has begun; it will be well over a decade before a new strategy can be expected to take shape.

A long-term survey has been commissioned to assess how Europe can be defended beyond the year 2000. Nuclear weapons play a key role in the present deterrent strategy, but Nato feels the purpose of deployment must be political.

In SDI the United States is trying to set up a protective shield for itself. Strategists in Brussels and Bonn are wondering how a corresponding shield might protect Europe.

So the new strategy might be a hybrid system consisting of a protective shield and certain operational capacities.

Nato officials note with some alarm that fear is playing a growing role in politics. Chernobyl, for instance, created much more upset in the Federal Republic of Germany than elsewhere in the West.

In Belgium there wasn't the panic that swept Germany, a panic to which Bonn's Nato partners reacted with alarm.

Germany, many felt, had shown itself to be highly unstable. Yet the Federal Republic plays a crucial role in the North Atlantic pact.

Nato itself currently has internal problems with the Americans. The United States is evidently in the process of growing anti-European, failing to appreciate the situation in Europe, as Nato experts put it.

It is noted in Bonn and Brussels that the Federal Republic has made a substantial contribution toward the alliance by lengthening conscription, placing property at Nato's disposal and permitting hundreds of thousands of overflights.

Anti-European feeling in the United States is also directed against Denmark and Norway even though both are largely toeing the American and German line.

There is a growing risk of America seriously considering troop withdrawals from Europe, and Nato officials are finding it extremely hard to enlist support for alliance views and requirements in Washington today.

They are agreed in their assessment of the situation, which is that any change in security structure would lead in many Western European countries to a decline in investment activity.

There must be no overlooking the fact that the Americans are paying increasing attention to the Pacific basin. Immigrants are currently coming from Asia and Mexico; the days of immigration from Europe seem to be over.

The French have long ceased to be full members of the Atlantic alliance but retain a strong Nato presence and are keen to see a strong Nato. They merely prefer to decide for themselves when to join the alliance.

They have no doubt that the Americans must stay in Europe. The security policy advocated by Nato and the United States is undisputed in France.

In nuclear strategy the Soviet Union must, incidentally, bear in mind not only the decisions of President Reagan and Mrs Thatcher but also those of M. Mitterrand.

The French are also convinced there is no point in defending their country at the Rhine. Its wartime defence must begin at the intra-German border.

Nato faces its greatest current threat on its southern flank: in Turkey, Greece and Italy, where Middle East influence is strongly apparent.

A fresh oil crisis or a coup in an Arab country could trigger alarming crises for Nato.

Ulrich Zink

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 12 September 1986)

Kohl says German reunification must be part of wider process

Chancellor Kohl has unequivocally reaffirmed the Bonn government's commitment to Nato and to the presence of American troops in Germany.

He emphasised at the 32nd annual general meeting of the Atlantic Treaty Association, held in Mainz in mid-September, Nato's importance for the security of Europe in general and Germany in particular.

He outlined to the meeting, at which Atlantic treaty associations in all Nato member-countries were represented, essential features of his government's policy.

Germany, he said, took part in the establishment of a united Europe in keeping with its historic task, including the essential German aim of achieving unity in freedom.

Reunification of the German people must form part of a process in which the division of all Europe was brought to an end.

Freedom held the key to the German Question, and he didn't just want to see all Germans living in freedom; their eastern neighbours were equally entitled to it.

The pursuit of freedom was not, he said, an aggressive one. It was merely a matter of peace terms for all Europe by which "nations irrespective of their present social systems can live alongside each other without fear, on a basis of equality and mutual trust."

The Chancellor was strongly opposed to "forces in our country who are keen,

DIE WELT

on whatever pretext, to meddle with the alliance." They were playing with German freedom and, in the final analysis, with peace in Central Europe.

While not specifically mentioning the Social Democrats, he criticised them in saying it was not enough to pay lip service to Nato while at the same time calling for political and military moves that would weaken the North Atlantic pact both militarily and psychologically.

German interests must naturally be heeded in Nato but the alliance as a whole must be borne in mind and there must be no question of Germany putting Nato to rights.

Herr Kohl felt there was a trend in all Western democracies, and not just in the Federal Republic, to belittle the Soviet threat and take an increasingly critical view of the United States.

As he sees it this trend is a direct result of peace and freedom having been upheld for over 30 years by Nato. Its identity as a "community of values" has grown vaguer in consequence.

This loss of reality entails a risk of Western Europe separating politically and, sooner or later, intellectually from North America.

Other speakers at the Mainz confer-

Continued on page 6

■ MINORITY GROUPS

Report says Gastarbeiter do not take Germans' jobs

Foreign workers do not take jobs away from Germans, says the annual report of the Bonn parliamentary Commissioner for Aliens, Liselotte Funcke.

Her report says that about 1.6 million foreign workers help boost GNP by paying taxes, rents and social security or pension scheme contributions. They have bank accounts in German banks and buy German products.

The report, designed to take some of the heat out of an emotional subject, presents facts and figures which clash with some common prejudices towards foreigners — particularly now with the heated discussion over whether so many asylum applicants should be allowed to stay.

With this atmosphere, one thing stated in the report would sound to some people almost heretical: according to the European Commission, foreign workers might have to be recruited again in Europe because of stagnating or declining population figures. It said the migrants would have to come from further afield this time.

Does this mean that one day a government recruitment bonus may be paid to asylum seekers because there aren't enough German workers to do the jobs?

The discussion on the asylum problem has "frightened and irritated" those foreign workers who have nothing to do with this the asylum issue, says Frau Funcke.

Many of them are asking themselves whether they, too, are undesired aliens. From a macroeconomic point of view quite the opposite is true.

Frau Funcke says foreign workers are indispensable on the German labour market.

She tries to do away with an apparently ineradicable prejudice which often circulates among young and jobless Germans with radical right-wing tendencies — that foreigners take away jobs from Germans.

Wrong, she says. She refers to the structure of unemployment in the Federal Republic, where over half the jobless are women, a quarter over 40, and a further quarter have health problems, to underline the fact that employees are not simply interchangeable. Many of these unemployed persons cannot be employed in fields such as structural and civil engineering, underground mining, foundry work, heavy industry, car assembly work or shift-work.

What is more, by the end of this century the number of German school-leavers will have probably dropped by half.

Then there will be a much greater demand for trainees.

Furthermore, there will be a shift in the age structure.

Gone are the days when Turkish workers tranferred most of their hard-earned wages to their families in far-off Anatolia.

In the meantime foreign families have by and large adopted the behaviour patterns of German consumers.

The 4.4 million foreigners who buy products in the Federal Republic contribute a great deal towards promoting employment and safeguarding jobs.

In the fields of leisure electronics and household appliances alone they spend about DM1bn each year.

They also readily purchase furniture and cars.

The report lists a number of other facts about foreigners: they often live in flats in old buildings where Germans would be unwilling to live, they pay roughly DM10bn each year in income tax, they pay between DM8bn and DM10bn in the form of pension contributions, and they almost all have savings deposits in German banks.

This purely economic appraisal of non-German workers and their families says nothing about their personal worries and problems.

Most of them still live like social outsiders, says the report, have considerable problems with their housing situation, their school education and job training; cultural tension in society and their inability to politically voice their interests.

As a decrease in the share of foreigners in the West German population is unlikely during the next few years Frau Funcke calls upon political decision-makers to take appropriate steps to improve the situation.

In her report she lists a whole catalogue of measures which could help in this respect.

Foreigners, for example, should be granted the right to stay in the Federal Republic after five to eight years.

Other suggestions were that the dependents of foreigners already here

General-Anzeiger

should be allowed to join them, that naturalisation should be made easier, forms of active political involvement improved, and special help given to young foreigners who have not completed secondary education.

Without foreign workers, the report resumes, GNP in the Federal Republic of Germany would not be as high as it is.

It is doubtful whether Liselotte Funcke's proposals will meet with an overtly positive response.

Unfortunately, the pursuit of a meaningful policy towards foreigners is not an election campaign issue in this country.

Ekkehard Kohrs

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 17 September 1986)

No evidence to support the send-them-home brigade

The annual report by the Bonn Commissioner for Aliens, Liselotte Funcke, has nothing to support the arguments of those who want foreigners to return home.

Her report has made it clear that the migrant *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) do *not take jobs away from Germans and that* the Federal Republic of Germany needs these often reluctantly tolerated fellow citizens to ensure its prosperity.

Without foreign workers whole branches of industry would find it difficult to survive, since no German is willing to accept a job there.

The jobs either involve strenous manual labour, are too dangerous or too dirty.

It almost borders on the macabre to explain why foreigners are "useful" for West German society.

Although Liselotte Funcke's report may help adjust the distorted image of foreigners in the Federal Republic it will not noticeably objectify the alarmingly emotionalised discussion on foreigners.

Groups such as the citizens initiative which calls for a ban on the entry of more foreigners are not interested in a rational appraisal of the problem and are unlikely to respond to the arguments forwarded in Frau Funcke's report.

The strength of these groups is drawn from the mobilisation of unconscious emotions, emotions which are alarmingly reminiscent of the popular sentiment once invoked in Germany.

It is a crime to fan the flames of such emotions.

A very watchful eye must be kept in future on the groups which voice them.

Not because, as the report suggests, foreigners are "useful" fellow human beings, but simply because they are human beings and it is everyone's duty to respect another person's dignity.

Doris Bathke

(Bremer Nachrichten, 17 September 1986)

ILO survey paints an anatomy of a self-employed Turk

Most self-employed Turks in the Federal Republic of Germany are tradesmen (roughly 42 %) or in the catering business (19 %).

This is one of the results of a survey conducted on behalf of the International Labour Organisation by the Centre for Turkish Studies in Bonn.

The Centre is a scientific institution funded by the Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft and the Freudenberg Foundation.

The foundation has set itself the objective of providing West Germans with more information on economic, social and cultural life in Turkey and thus helping to improve German-Turkish relations via cooperation to overcome common problems.

According to estimates roughly 22,000 Turks have set up their own businesses in the Federal Republic of Germany.

By doing so they created about 60,000 new jobs.

The survey by the Centre for Turkish Studies covered 315 Turkish proprietors of businesses in the cities of Dortmund, Essen, Duisburg, Düsseldorf, Gelsenkirchen, Herne, Bochum, Mannheim and Heidelberg.

At the time the survey was conducted these businesses employed 746 employees.

Apart from trade and catering the self-employed Turks are involved in wide range of business activities, e.g. photographic studios, private detective agencies, security organisations and video cassette producers.

The businesses surveyed had on average created 3.5 jobs.

The average annual turnover of 50 selected businesses was DM781,440 and the average volume of investments per business amounted to DM173,875.

Turks who "become their own boss" do not seek prior business consultation as often as Germans do, even though they urgently need such advice to ensure their livelihood in the long run.

The survey also came up with the following findings:

- The setting up of a business and self-employment have a strong influence on whether a foreigner wishes to stay in the Federal Republic or not.

The desire to stay is linked with the future success of self-employment.

51 per cent of the persons surveyed had been in the Federal Republic for over fifteen years; 39 per cent had been running their own business for over five years.

- The overwhelming majority of respondents were employed in the services sector, even though the majority had no special qualification for work in this sector.
- Business policy is geared towards the behaviour of German consumers.

The average share of German customers of these Turkish businesses was 34 per cent, and the corresponding share was 66 per cent in the catering trade.

- Turkish businessmen try to counter the pressure of German competitors by extending their product range.
- As a rule Turkish businesses do not work together with other businesses, event though this is regarded in principle as meaningful.

Mannheim is the exception, where one in three of the Turkish proprietors stated that he worked together with other foreign businesses.

- Most of the Turkish business-owners have problems with the German authorities, which in their opinion try to prevent the development and consolidation of their self-employed activities.
- There is a strong propensity to employ foreign trainees.

The Turkish proprietors are not generally qualified to train.

According to the head of the Centre for Turkish Studies, Dr Faruk Sen, self-employed Turks have a considerable ability to learn and are very receptive towards training and further training efforts.

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 9 September 1986)

Continued from page 5

ence were Nato C-in-C General Bernard Rogers and Bundeswehr inspector-general Wolfgang Altenburg.

General Rogers rejected calls for a defensive approach to Nato's role.

That, he said, would make the West liable to political blackmail in view of the massive conventional threat posed by Warsaw Pact forces.

General Altenburg noted the growing military threat posed by the East, due mainly to qualitative improvements in the offensive capacity of East Bloc armed forces.

Technical means of operational command were, for instanced, being improved so as to make Warsaw Pact forces more mobile on the ground and in the air and to improve their ability to stage a lightning attack.

Rüdiger Moniac

(Die Welt, Bonn, 18 September 1986)

■ ECONOMIC BLOCS

Comecon and the European Community end silence

Talks between the European Community and its equivalent in the East Bloc, Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation) have begun again in Geneva after after years of silence.

They will initially aim at drawing up an agenda and agreeing on exact topics.

A modest start is to be made on the exchange of statistical material and agreement on norms and standards.

Comecon is aiming mainly at cooperation in research and technology and on environmental issues, which have grown particularly urgent since Chernobyl and with atmospheric pollution in general increasing.

It is too early to say whether the two organisations will succeed in starting a new leaf in East-West ties.

Comecon, founded in 1949, has yet to legally recognise the European Community.

The Soviet Union, as the undisputed leader of the group, sought in the 1950s to torpedo the development and integration of the Common Market.

Moscow didn't want any bloc emerging in Europe supported by America that might develop both military and economic importance.

Other Comecon member-countries are East Germany, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Non-European members are Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia.

The European Community similarly refuses to grant Comecon international law recognition. Brussels feels Comecon's structure is so different from the European Community's own that treatment on a basis of equality is out of the question.

Unlike European Community bodies, Comecon institutions are not entitled to reach decisions binding on member-countries; they merely make recommendations to member-governments.

Individual member-countries alone enjoy full sovereignty and the authority to conclude trade and cooperation agreements with each other and with third countries.

In the European Community the position is different. In 1973 responsibility for external trade was transferred from member-countries to the Community.

All countries trading with the European Community must now negotiate with the European Commission in Brussels — and with it only.

These legal niceties, taken together with political tension between the two power blocs, have so far prevented cooperation between the two economic groupings.

The European Community has banked in the past on bilateral treaties. Agreements have, for instance, been reached on textiles and steel.

Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria all have bilateral trade arrangements with the European Community, and these ties are doubtless a main reason for Moscow's change of mind.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov broke the silence last year in referring to the possibility of setting right mutually useful relations between Comecon and the European Community.

Mr Gorbachov, strong on leadership, will doubtless have thought first and foremost in terms of restoring order in the East Bloc.

Under his ailing predecessors the European members of Comecon had adopted too independent a policy of pursuing objectives of their own. Mr Gorbachov now clearly wants to tighten the reins and keep a closer check on smaller Comecon countries' ties with the West.

Another factor that seems sure to have played a part in the Soviet policy change is the urgent need for economic modernisation in the East Bloc in general and the Soviet Union in particular.

Comecon needs the European Community, especially in mechanical engineering and high tech. Eastern Europe's planned economies have been barely broached by the computer era.

Even Hungary and the GDR, arguably the East Bloc's computer freaks, themselves feel they are 10 to 15 years behind the West.

The Community has no objection to closer contacts, but its reasons are predominantly political rather than economic in nature.

More intensive ties between the two parts of Europe could, the argument in Brussels runs, be a major step toward consolidation of peace.

The possibility is even more attractive when seen against the background of superpower interest in intensifying disarmament negotiations.

European Community institutions are, at the same time, well aware of the handicaps and difficulties that are likely to arise from closer cooperation.

Cooperation stands to be hampered by both the enormous development gap between member-countries of the two organisations and by the political differences between them.

Comecon currencies are a further problem, not being accepted in foreign trade. Above all, the Comecon countries are mostly members of the Warsaw Pact, whereas all Common Market countries except Ireland belong to Nato.

That seems sure to trigger a number of problems in any agreements that may be reached on technology. Trade in sensitive goods and equipment is subject, in the West, to approval by Cocom, a Nato sub-committee concerned with security considerations.

The United States in particular can be sure to keep an eye on technology transfer to the East, especially as the Soviet Union is the leading member of

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Comecon and in a position comparable only with what the situation would be in the West if America were a member of the European Community.

What is more, Moscow tends to limit the leeway enjoyed by smaller member-countries of Comecon, which is not to the European Community's liking: Brussels would gladly strengthen their hand.

That is why the Community has insisted that future agreements between the two organisations must not prejudice existing bilateral arrangements. Mention will also need to be made of the status of Berlin.

The European Community is in no hurry, so that strengthens its hand in Geneva. Comecon must lay its cards on the table. We will then see whether East and West can get down to bridge-building.

Inge Pröll

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 16 September 1986)

Asean countries to discuss forming customs union

The six member-countries of Asean, the Association of South-East Asian Nations, all pursue capitalist economic policies.

So it would be only natural for them to agree on joint "framework conditions" enabling them to coordinate industrial development and commercial dealings.

There has been talk for some time of setting up a South-East Asian Economic Community along the lines of the European Common Market (but without its drawbacks).

A conference has been called to discuss the proposal and is to be held next year in Manila. A customs union will be discussed, as will market-sharing to the best advantage of all.

Philippine President Corazon Aquino stressed the call for greater economic cooperation at a conference of Foreign Ministers in Manila and on a tour of Indonesia and Singapore.

She is supported by Western friends with observer status at Asean, such as the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and, for Western Europe, the president of the European Council.

Bonn, it must be added, plays a substantial role in Asean. Foreign Minister Genscher is a keen supporter of Asean in general and the Philippines in particular.

He feels a stronger Asean is a political counterweight to Soviet expansion and to expansion by its client-states in the Far East and the Pacific.

Politically Asean has already made some headway; economically it has made little or none. Disparity between member-countries is simply too great.

Indonesia is a huge country with a population of 170 million and naturally has interests that differ from those of demographic and geographical dwarfs such as Brunei or Singapore.

The Philippines forfeited much of its economic potential and political influence in the Marcos era.

So how can an economic community function when the key issue for a country such as the Philippines is national cohesion in a context of Communist and Muslim unrest?

On her first state visit, which took her to Indonesia, Mrs Aquino seems to have met with little joy from President Suharto.

He may well feel, on the quiet, the Philippines ought first to put its own house in order before talking in terms of home-sharing.

Peter Seidlitz

(Mannheimer Morgen, 4 September 1986)

■ INDUSTRY

Mannesmann: pipelines full of diversification

A hundred years ago the brothers Max and Reinhard Mannesmann invented the seamless steel tube: they could hardly have realised the colossal technological impact this would have.

Using two steam engines for power, they set the first-ever rolling mill line in motion and laid the foundation for the company which is still called Mannesmann.

The brothers ceased all connections with the firm shortly afterwards, but Mannesmann is still a synonym for steel pipes and tubes.

Nowdays, the pipes business is contracting and Mannesmann has been making strong efforts to diversify since 1968.

Just how much pipes are decreasing in importance can be seen from the fact that intially, they declined as a proportion of business due to acquisitions, Now they are declining in absolute terms.

The most obvious indication of this trend is the reduction in the number of employees in iron, steel,and piping.

By the end of 1987 the workforce will have been cut by 6,500: 3,000 have already left or are about to.

Employees feel the job cuts are connected with the arrival of a new managing director. This is understandable but wrong.

Since the previous managing director, Franz-Josef Weisweiler, died suddenly in July last year, the new man at the top has been Werner Dieter, previously the head of the Mannesmann subsidiary Rexroth.

Although Dieter is familiar with the problems facing coalmining areas and the coal and steel industries, many feel that he intends to cold-bloodedly phase out Mannesmann's involvement in the piping business.

This isn't true, Dieter's policy was already planned when Weisweiler was managing director,

The gloomy prospects on the piping market and the fact that Mannesmann is in

DIE ZEIT

the red in this field have merely speeded things up.

During the general meeting of company shareholders in July Dieter complained that substantial losses would occur in 1986 if nothing is done to safeguard the remaining jobs and the future of the group.

He said the reasons for the losses in the once-flourishing piping business were structural changes, the decrease in certain uses of pipes, the growing use of substitutes for steel piping, and lower oil prices.

The slump in the price of oil means that oil and gas exploration activities are stagnating.

This hits Mannesmann hard, since customers which "in the broadest sense operate on the energy market" account for sixty per cent of the group's turnover.

Gone are the days when major new orders from the Soviet Union alone ensured full-capacity production at the piping production plant in Mühlheim and when almost any price was paid for the pipelines needed for oil fields.

The market has become weaker and the competitors stronger.

The big pipes able to stand Siberian temperatures are now also being supplied by Japan and Italy.

The close links between Mannesmann's iron and steel works and its piping plants makes this setback all the more difficult to stomach.

Since Mannesmann took over Thyssen's piping business in 1970 and for outlets for its part moved out of the general steelmaking business Mannesmann's steel works exclusively supplies the piping plants.

Every ton the piping business loses, therefore, has direct effects on employment at the steel works.

Whereas the plant in Mühlheim which produces big pipes has managed to keep job reduction to a minimum due to a low debt service and low share of labour costs in total costs the overall financial losses are worsened by the situation at the steel works.

Rumours are circulating that Mannesmann is considering selling off its piping business cheaply to Thyssen.

So far these rumours have been categorically denied.

No-one denies, however, that Mannesmann is looking for its surplus quantities of steel and that it has made the corresponding offers (with very little success so far) to other companies in the Ruhr area.

As Mannesmann has drawn up a contract with Thyssen not to move into the general steel sector the company will have to restrict its efforts to steel products needed to produce pipes.

Any other strategy would make little sense, since Thyssen would then have to protect its markets against competition in the general steel sector from Mannesmann and vice versa in the piping sector.

Both companies seem satisfied with a division of labour.

Although they have had to close down some of the firms acquired from former competitors the "inherited" clientele has allowed them to consolidate their positions on respective markets.

Mannesmann in particular has benefited from the agreement with Thyssen.

Whereas the situation in the steel industry took a turn for the worse in 1974 the boom in the piping sector continued up until 1982.

The revenue from this line of business has speeded up a process of restructuring within the Mannesmann group.

It looks as if Mannesmann didn't like the idea of relying on just one product.

Franz-Josef Weisweiler, who took over from Egon Overbeck as managing director in 1983, emphasised that the piping industry can be in very good shape one day and in extremely poor shape the next.

The Mannesmann head office in Düsseldorf has tried to make sure that the ups and downs of this one market doesn't shake the foundation of the whole group.

Overbeck already acquired a shareholding in the firm Rexroth GmbH, one of the leading international manufacturers of hydraulic systems, in 1968, i.e. before the division of labour with Thyssen.

This was an opportunity for Mannesmann to see how it fared in activities in a totally different line of business.

Mannesmann passed the test and Rexroth, which proved a real "windfall" for the group, was taken over lock, stock and barrel by Mannesmann in 1975.

Since then hardly a press conference was held without questions being asked about new or planned acquisitions.

The intention to buy shareholdings was always confirmed, but specific details were only announced after the deals had been clinched.

The second object of diversification was the mechanical and plant engineering company Demag AG of Duisburg in 1973.

Mannesmann had bought up a majority of shares in this company behind the scenes on the stock market.

Many insiders were amused at the fact that Overbeck had more or less purchased these shares without the head of Thyssen, Hans-Günther Sohl, who was chairman of the Demag supervisory board, even noticing.

Demag, however, did not bring the Mannesmann group the same success as Rexroth.

Demag was one of the really big names in the iron/steel works and rolling mill business, which steadily declined after the crisis in the steel industry set in in 1974.

nesmann had a lot of clearing up to do at Demag, which is now known as Mannesmann Demag.

Since the takeover the number of employees was reduced from 23,200 to 18,800 by the end of 1985. Turnover, admittedly, increased from DM1.8bn to DM3.2bn.

Nevertheless, Dieter rated the performance of the Demag subsidiary as no more than satisfactory in 1985. This at least is better than the 1985 result in pipes.

It took some time before the next acquisition was made. In 1981 Mannesmann bought up the Frankfurt-based Hartmann & Braun AG, a company operating in the field of measurement and control techniques.

Although this company's turnover was only DM800m in 1985 it provided an above-average source of profits.

Mannesmann could have taken over this firm much earlier, but at that time it subscribed to the principle only to buy up companies which fit in with Mannesmann's overall programme and in fields *Mannesmann knows something about.*

All this applied in the case of Hartmann & Braun and the measurement and control techniques were a welcome addition to the mechanical engineering operations of Demag and Rexroth.

Another Mannesmann principle was to take over the "industrial management" of their subsidiaries, which is virtually impossible without a shareholding majority.

It broke with this tradition in 1981/82 when offered the chance of acquiring a fifty per cent share of the Kienzle Apparat GmbH.

Kienzle specialised in data technology, which was clearly not a familiar line of business for Mannesmann.

Competing firms gloated when, soon after the Mannesmann acquisition, Kienzle obved into the red. It looked as if a similar disaster to the move by Volkswagen into Triumph-Adler was about to take place. Mannesmann, however, soon came to tefms with the situation and Kienzle now has a turnover of over DM1.3bn. The Mannesmann group was now represented in the data technology branch, which was already on the group's "shopping-list" in 1977. Mannesmann then acquired roughly forty per cent of the ANT Nachrichtentechnik GmbH during the AEG sellout. This helped Mannesmann move into the field of data transmission, which was not covered by Kienzle.

In 1985 Demag, Rexroth and Kienzle have made a much greater contribution to group turnover than the piping sector.

These three subsidiaries managed an aggregate turnover of DM6.2bn, whereas the piping business "only" accounted for DM4.7bn.

The piping sector only had a 27 per cent share of the group's gross turnover of DM21.1bn and accounted for just under 30 per cent of total employees.

Admittedly, this does not include the pipe production figure of the groups Brazilian subsidiary, where other market conditions apply anyway.

Today, Mannesmann is more a mechanical and plant engineering and construction group than a pipes group.

Despite the sharp drop in earnings from the piping sector, therefore, managing director Werner Dieter still confidently predicted that 1986 would be a satisfactory year, albeit not so good as 1985.

The assumption is, he added, that "there is no substantial change in the general setting of our operations and that the pipe production plants effect the planned economising measures fast enough."

In the meantime, however, there are doubts about this, as it is *not certain* whether the envisaged *reduction* of personnel will be accepted as "socially compatible".

The stumbling-block is an labour law amendment which stipulates that firms can be asked for money if their workers are made redundant or obliged to accept early retirement.

Whereas it used to be taken for granted that the unemployment insurance scheme would pay unemployment money up until the age of sixty for someone who retired at the age of 59 and that the pension insurance scheme would then pay the subsequent pension money the insurers now ask companies to reimburse these payments.

In Mannesmann's case this would mean an additional DM100,000 per person sent into early retirement.

The Labour Promotion Law, however, also provides for exceptions to the reimbursement obligation and the management at Mannesmann is confident that it will be able to qualify.

If not, this would have serious consequences for Mannesmann's personnel policy, since it would then have to dismiss younger workers instead of those it intended sending into early retirement.

At the moment there is talk of a possible 3,000 redundancies.

Although there are as yet *no definitive*

Continued on page 12



Not much light at the end of these pipes. (Photo: Mannesmann)

■ TRAFFIC

The ups and downs of road-accident statistics: are drivers better?

Road accidents declined sharply last year when just over 8,400 people died, fewer than any year since 1953 and nearly 2,000 fewer than in 1984.

So, have German drivers got better? Are they driving with more common sense? The answer is not absolutely clear.

In the first six months of this year 4,019 people died on German roads — nearly 10 per cent more than in the first half of last year.

A further 203,479 were injured. That too was an increase — of nearly eight per cent.

The reasons for this sad development cannot be pinpointed down to the smallest detail, but all traffic experts are

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

agreed in one respect. This setback need not mark the end of accident statistics that have steadily improved for nearly 20 years.

It seems more reasonable to assume that this year's figures will remain a sad exception to the rule — just as 1985 was an encouraging exception in producing better-than-average statistics.

Two main factors combined to make 1985 a record year for road safety. Belts were one, the 100kph speed limit debate the other.

Fines were introduced for not "belting up" from summer 1984, whereupon over 90 per cent of German motorists suddenly started using their safety belts.

Previously only about six motorists in 10 took the trouble.

And when the tree death debate triggered a public dispute over a 100kph speed limit, there being no general speed limit on German autobahns, that too definitely affected motorists' behaviour.

Accident research experts have no doubt whatever that the speed limit threat made them drive with greater discipline and, above all, more slowly.

But this phase was over by the year's end. Belting up had no further effect on accident figures. With 95 per cent of motorists fastening their safety belts, further improvements were ruled out.

The public debate on atmospheric pollution and a possible speed limit soon subsided once survey findings were published and the government decided not to introduce a speed limit.

The discipline imposed by the threat promptly went by the board. Motorists are now driving faster. Relief at the demise of speed limit plans may have prompted many drivers to step on the gas.

The consequences were not immediately apparent. Accidents increased dramatically, by about 40 per cent, in January. But an obvious explanation could well have been the weather.

In January 1985 roads were icebound. Motorists drove more slowly (and avoided driving at all whenever possible), with fewer and less serious accidents as a result.

In the first month of this year speeds picked up, and with them the number of road deaths.

The figure continued to increase, a trend arguably attributable to explanations other than the weather.

First and foremost, prices of motor fuel plummeted. Early this summer the price fell below a mark per litre.

Besides, a mild winter was followed by a moderate spring that in its turn was followed by a superb early summer — with consequences that could hardly surprise accident researchers.

Motorists drove more and, not needing to economise on fuel, faster. And not only motorists were out in force.

So were cyclists, motorcyclists and moped-users — all particularly accident-prone road-users.

The more mileage is driven and the faster motorists drive, the more accidents occur and the more serious they tend to be.

Aggression increased on German roads too, as indicated by a striking increase in the number of accidents due to motorists not keeping their distance from the vehicle ahead and to failure to observe right of way.

This aggression was promptly reflected in accident figures even though only a minority of road-users may still feel a driving licence entitles them to let off steam at the wheel.

The latest figures may not indicate a general turn for the worse in road safety, but higher speed and aggression show there is no ground for complacently doing nothing.

In the best year for decades, 1985, there were still 8,400 road deaths: 8,400 too many!

Major advances in road safety have now been completed. They include speed limits, new autobahns, safety belts, improvements in design safety and a speedier ambulance service.

So only minor improvements remain to be made. The Federal government has already decided on or announced its intention of introducing several.

They include staggered age-limits for various categories of motorcycle, compulsory helmets for moped-users and new driving licences on probation (starting this November).

If motorists revert to common sense, the number of accident victims will probably decline markedly before long.

That will leave a minority of incorrigible speedsters and aggressive motorists who needn't be surprised if the speed limit debate is resumed one day.

This time environmental considerations will not prevail; the emphasis will be on road safety.

Ingmar Keller

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 6 September 1986)

Wild animal danger in autumn and the mating month of May

Motorists face dangerous weeks ahead, according to accident statistics by ADAC, the Munich-based motoring club.

In October and November there is a regular, drastic increase in road accidents involving deer, rabbits and other animals.

In these two months, and in the mating month of *May, twice as many such* accidents are reported as in the remaining nine months of the year.

"We can only urgently advise motorists to take Animals Crossing road signs seriously in the weeks ahead," says ADAC president Franz Stadler.

He and Gerhard Frank, president of the German Hunting Association, made this point in a joint appeal issued in Munich.

Annual damage caused by traffic accidents involving animals is substantial. Last year's statistics listed 20 people killed and 1,500 injured — not to mention 200,000 animals killed and damage estimated at DM180m.

Traffic experts feel sure the true figure is higher. About 1,000 motorists a year die when their cars crash into trees. Some are likely to have tried to avoid an animal crossing the road and to have skidded and orashed.

Trying to avoid the animal is the worst possible reaction a motorist can take, experts agree. Surveys have shown accidents to be *particularly* serious when cars skid as a result.

What, then, is he to do if a rabbit is in his way? ADAC's Franz Stadler says the only option in this emergency is to drive on regardless.

The result will still be a nasty dent in the car body. A rabbit hitting a car at a speed of 100kph does so with an impact equivalent to a weight of 125kg.

Yet the damage is still minor in comparison with the risk of colliding with another vehicle in the attempt to avoid hitting the animal.

ADAC and the huntsmen have compiled 10 hints to autumn motorists to prevent the problem from arising in the first place.

One is to slow down on roads in wooded country, especially at dusk. ADAC's Rüdiger Linde says most accidents with animals can be handled when the vehicle is not travelling at more than 80kph (50mph). When road signs indicate Animals Crossing, be prepared to step on the brakes, keep your distance from the nearside verge and look in your rear mirror before emergency braking.

Emergency braking can so easily cause a serious pile-up, Linde says.

Neither organisation is impressed by dog whistles and other devices that emit high-frequency notes inaudible to the human ear. First, animals may be confused and behave unpredictably. Second, no-one knows for sure what effect sound at these frequencies has on humans.

Road planners can also take effective accident prevention precautions. Roads ought not to border on the forest; that cuts off the animals in the woods, where they sleep, from the meadows, where they graze (and vice-versa).

Fences have proved most effective too, especially electric fences. But they have one grave drawback, as shown on test routes. The batteries are popular with thieves.

Peter Schmalz

(Die Welt, Bonn, 17 September 1986)

■ THE ARTS

The alcoholic playwright without an audience

RHEINISCHE POST

The dramatist Christian Dietrich Grabbe died 150 years ago on 12 September, 1836, in his native town of Detmold, a lonely, despondent and misunderstood man.

He was constantly at odds with the world around him and his inner despair was the ultimate cause of his ruin.

A contemporary of Heinrich Heine, Grabbe was denied success where he sought it most: on the stage.

Only one of his plays, *Don Juan und Faust*, was performed (with moderate success) during his lifetime.

Just before he died at the age of only 35, Grabbe was a broken man, addicted to alcohol, a playwright without an audience.

He is undoubtedly one of the most enigmatic literary figures of the 19th century.

His works reflect his deep feeling of despair during the Restoration, which began with the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and lulled Germany into a fateful slumber.

His disappointment over the end of the dream of a united German Reich with a liberal and progressive constitution was accompanied by contempt for the mediocrity of the literary works of *his contemporaries.*

The repertoire of the theatres primarily consisted of light and trivial fare.

There was no room for Grabbe's powerful, earthy and often cynical dramas.

He was too obsessed with the earnestness of his drama-writing activities to subject himself to literary fashions.

This was one reason for his lack of success as a playwright, which was soon followed by his physical decline.

Grabbe was born on 11 December, 1801, in the capital of the small princedom of Lippe-Detmold. His family was lower middle-class.

His father worked for the Prince of Lippe as a prison warder and his mother, who could neither read nor write, was an alcoholic.

Grabbe felt constricted by the small town of Detmold and tried at an early age to flee what he regarded as an intellectual prison.

In 1820 he began studying law in Leipzig, which he continued two years later in Berlin.

His studies were only half-hearted and unable to cater for his literary interests.

He felt happier in the students' literary circle, to which Friedrich von Uechtritz and Karl Köchy as well as Heinrich Heine (for a short while) belonged.

During this period Grabbe wrote his first dramas, *Herzog Theodor von Gothland* and *Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung.*

The first of the two, a play which describes how intrigue and disillusionment can turn an originally good man into a cynic who is even willing to commit fratricide, was praised by Heine.

Although Heine felt the play was immature he went so far as to claim that it was far superior in its structural quality to conventional dramatic productions and also indicated literary genius.

Publishers and theatre directors, however, were appalled at the brutality of certain scenes.

The title of Grabbe's second play, *Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung* (Wit, Satire, Irony and deeper Significance) more or less itself summarises Grabbe's intention.

A superficial and fabulous plot provides the context for a cascade of cynicisms.

Grabbe's satirical attacks on his colleagues (which makes the play very much a literary satire) are enriched by black humour and pun-filled, earthy comedy.

In the play, the devil (the German word *Teufel* is a clear allusion to Theophil Christian Teufel), who has fled to the earth because his grandmother is cleaning her house, is found frozen to death by natural scientists.

The devil is resurrected by the fire of a candle and then leads the scientists up the proverbial garden path.

He makes a mockery of the idealistic playwright Rattengift (German for rat poison) and breaks up a conventional love affair in favour of a relationship of true love before the village schoolmaster lures him into a bird-cage by promising him Cassanova's memoires.

In the end, the devil's seductively youthful grandmother frees him and the playwright Grabbe appears on stage to *celebrate the play's happy end with the* other characters.

This hair-raising story is full of witty dialogue, ridicule, popular comedy and a refreshing lack of respect.

The deeper significance, the *weltanschauung*, to which Grabbe lays claim, however, is only discernible in a few isolated reflections.

During his stay in Berlin Grabbe decided not to finish his law studies, but to try and become a successful playwright.

The patron of the arts Ludwig Tieck brought Grabbe together with other literary figures, although he did not personally feel that Grabbe's plays were suitable for the theatre.

This drove Grabbe into even greater isolation.

Unsuccessful, he returns to Detmold after short stays in Dresden, Leipzig, Brunswick and Hanover.

By this time he was a broken man and troubled by deep depressions.

As he lacked the money to leave Detmold he decided to abandon his literary amibitions and become an administrator at the princely military court.

News from a former fellow student by the name of Kettembeil, who had taken over a publishing firm in Frankfurt, that he was willing to publish Grabbe's earlier plays gave Grabbe new heart.

Grabbe then wrote the Hohenstaufen plays *Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa, Kaiser Heinrich der Sechste* and *Don Juan und Faust.*

In *Don Juan und Faust* Grabbe enacts the ingenious idea of letting two great literary figures, which have contrasting views of the world but are both exemplary of European philosophy, meet on stage.

Both protagonists, one in love with sensual pleasures and the other a melancholy man thirsting for knowledge, are in love with the beautiful Roman girl Donna Anna, who is already promised to another.

Whereas Don Juan is even willing to commit murder to satisfy his desires, Faust turns to the devil, who first drew his attention to the beautiful girl to show him how happy he could have been.

Both heroes fail to achieve their goal. Faust despairs and Don Juan consoles himself with the prospect of new adventures.

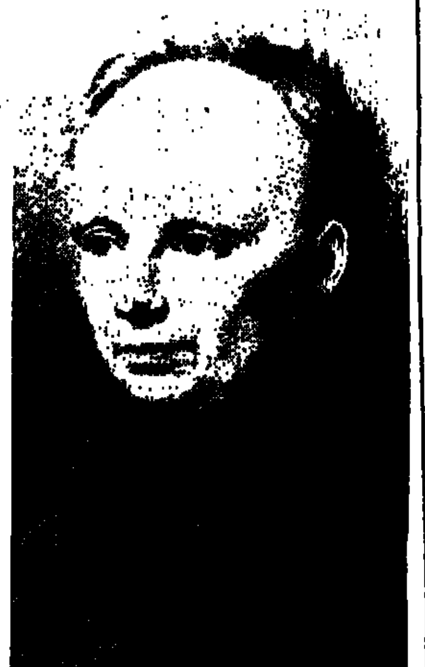
The literary confrontation of these two figures seems very artificial and the plot does not evolve out of the conflict between them.

Don Juan und Faust, therefore, often becomes an, albeit amusing, theatre of ideas.

Grabbe uses very drastic language in this play to characterise his characters and reality.

Even allowing for the extravagance of certain sections the description of the motives of his characters anticipates the literature of the realism genre of subsequent years.

This is particularly true in the case of Grabbe's masterpiece *Napoleon oder die Hundert Tage* (Napoleon or the Hundred Days), which was written at a stage when Grabbe paid no attention whatsoever to whether his plays could be performed on stage or not.



Christian Dietrich Grabbe ... found his Waterloo. (Photo: Interpress)

The play is marked by epic depth and alienation effects, which were already discernible in his earlier works and taken up much later by Büchner and Brecht, battle scenes, scenes in which the common people play a part, and parts spoken in dialect.

With reference to Napoleon's return from his exile on Elba and his rule of a hundred days Grabbe presents a historical portrayal of this period.

This was an age in which the revolution was still alive but the spirit of restoration already prevailed, until Napoleon returns.

The scenes with the populace reflect the mood of dissatisfaction at the rule of the Bourbons, outlining the basis for Napoleon's return.

The Jakobin Jouve, a fictitious character, embodies the disappointment at the fact that Napoleon and not the spirit of the revolution prevailed.

Over half of the very extensive play consists of battle scenes in which Napoleon's initial successes and ultimate defeat at Waterloo are described and presented from varying viewpoints.

Napoleon oder die Hundert Tage, which is better suited for a film rather than theatrical production, was not successful at the time and only contributed towards the legend of the unperformability of Grabbe's plays.

Grabbe's pessimistic view of history is most clearly presented in this play.

His love of great figures, which becomes all too clear in his Hohenstaufen plays and his last plays *Hannibal* and *Hermannsschlacht*, is coupled with the bitter realisation that the people and not individuals determine the course of history.

Despite the reverence shown for Napoleon this realisation is expressed at the end of *Napoleon oder die Hundert Tage* when Napoleon says: "The poor souls! Instead of one great tyrant, as they like to call me, they will soon have many petty tyrants."

Shortly before he finished writing this play Grabbe's life really went downhill.

His marriage broke up and Grabbe took to drink.

A stay of just over a year in Düsseldorf gave Grabbe a ray of hope.

Karl Leberecht Immermann, who was experimenting with an independent and progressive theatre in Düsseldorf, invited Grabbe to help him. Grabbe was en-

Continued on page 11

Yehudi Menuhin awarded prize for 'encouraging tolerance'

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Violinist Yehudi Menuhin has been awarded this year's Moses Mendelssohn Prize by the city of Berlin.

The 20,000-mark prize is awarded every two years for encouraging tolerance between peoples, races, religions and towards dissident thought. It is named after Berlin-born German Jewish Enlightenment philosopher, Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786).

In his speech as the award ceremony, Wolfgang Stresemann, who for many years was the director of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, recalled the concerts in Berlin by Yehudi Menuhin in 1946 and 1947.

By giving these concerts, Stresemann said, Menuhin was the "first Jewish musician" to "extend his hand in reconciliation". Stresemann emphasised that during his lifetime Menuhin had striven for tolerance as a musician and in the field of cultural policy and had secured respect "with the violin, the baton, the written and spoken word and his deeds".

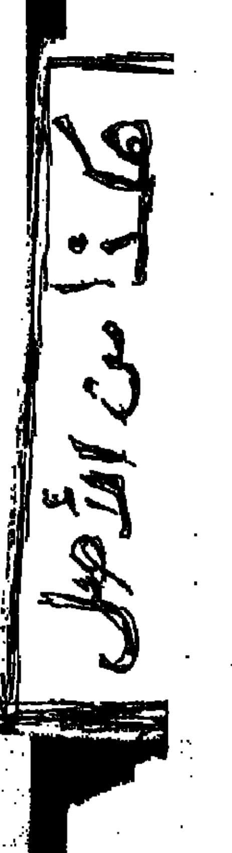
In a speech expressing his gratitude for the Prize Menuhin called Moses Mendelssohn "a symbol for the abundant possibilities for tolerance and sympathetic understanding."

This philosopher, however, said Menuhin, "also stands as a warning for the extent to which we lag behind our ideals."

Tolerance is something which must always be reacquired, said Menuhin.

Intolerance, however, he added, is "an expression of frustration, which is generally taken out on outsiders or people who are 'different' rather than on oneself."

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 8 September 1986)



■ MUSEUMS

The work ethic, the workplace, and tangible encounters with history

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Industrial societies are work-orientated in that work enjoys very high status in them. Men's and women's social standing and self-esteem are based on the value of and importance attached to the work they do.

Professional and personal identities are inseparably interwoven. Employment serves to fulfil material needs yet also has a much wider role, in many cases being idealised and elevated to the sphere of a moral purpose in life.

Since the mid-19th century, if not earlier, work has no longer been felt first and foremost to be a tiresome burden and a stigma attached to the sinner expelled from paradise; it is seen as a groundwork of civilisation, progress and national wealth.

Yet we deal with this heritage, the forms it has taken in the past and their present legacy, in a careless, negligent manner.

Factories and workshops that have ceased to play an active role survive for a while, if that is the word, as ruins before being demolished and replaced.

Running risks

In an age of technological change at an unprecedented pace we run a serious risk of losing our sense of historic continuity and of work's historic dimension.

Working people, their lives and achievements, the wealth of experience they gained and the traditions they embodied threaten to vanish into oblivion.

We stand to forfeit a substantial part of our own heritage and civilisation in the process.

A wider concept of culture is needed if this trend is to be counteracted: a concept descending from the exalted heights of art and literature to the plains and lowlands of everyday life.

Culture in this wider sense includes more than just Goethe and Heine, more than churches and castles, and not just the statues of statesmen and generals.

It includes railway stations, urban infrastructure, homes and school buildings, fashion and advertising; not just the traditional concept of aesthetic beauty but everyday customs and habits of the mass, no matter how trivial.

Historians, ethnologists and museum educationalists discovered this extended sphere of culture years ago and have paid it attention to some effect. *Their* books and exhibitions meet with a growing response.

The everyday lives of our fathers and grandmothers exercise a strange and growing fascination. Reconstructing them is an education, a tangible encounter with history.

Many museums are now working on concepts of this kind and catering for interest in the working world of our forefathers. Some are still at the drawing-board stage; others have made further progress.

Nuremberg, for instance, has its Industrial Culture Centre, which traces links between industrialisation, ways of life and everyday culture.

The *Land* government of Baden-Württemberg is generously subsidising the Museum of Technology and Labour in Mannheim, a counterpart to the Deutsches Museum in Munich.

The Deutsches Museum concentrates more on technology and technological developments than on work and working conditions, of course.

In Berlin a Museum of Transport and Technology is in the making, while a decentralised Westphalian Industry Museum is being set up by the Westfalen-Lippe regional authority.

It aims at preserving disused Ruhr mines and factories as historic monuments with the corresponding emphasis on work as history.

Differ though these various projects may in detail, what they have in common is that they aren't geared to politics in the large or to the history of the nation-state.

Limited to the region in which they are based, they testify to the social and economic change man and his environment have undergone at the various stages of the industrial revolution (and continues to undergo).

The latest venture of this kind is the *Museum der Arbeit* (Museum of Labour) in Hamburg, a 1986 arts award-winner.

It was set up on the initiative of trade unions, historians and committed members of the general public. A small staff has worked on a shoestring budget since 1982, collecting, preparing and presenting objects, tools and machinery.

Yet despite nearly a decade of debate the Hamburg museum has still to progress much further than preliminary considerations.

In the city's arts scene the project has failed so far to gain a genuine foothold, partly because the politicians responsible have postponed clear rulings on future outlines, the extent and even the location of the museum.

If the latest announcements are to be believed, this state of affairs will soon change. The forthcoming state assembly elections seem to have galvanised the authorities into action.

The Senate set up a panel of experts last November. They drew up a comprehensive report in an unusually short time.

Their findings were published in April, and within weeks the ruling Social Democrats announced that action was finally to be taken.

In their election manifesto they plan to extend the range of Hamburg's museums and press ahead with the Museum of Labour as a priority project.

They fail to reconcile this objective with the financial constraints to which they otherwise make such ready reference.

The panel proposed a large-scale plan that could only hope to be of more than local importance if more than a minimum of funds was invested in it.

In Hamburg, they said, Europe had a unique opportunity of presenting to a wider public the living conditions of working people in the process of historic change.

If the opportunity is to be taken up the annual capital investment and wage bill is bound to amount to several million marks.

In keeping with the latest views on running museums the working world is to be presented in its full variety and not just in black and white, as an opportunity of giving positive meaning to life and not just a tale of attrition, exhaustion and woe.

The aim is not to present clean machines brightly polished and aesthetically arranged. The emphasis is to be on the people who worked at them, often in difficult conditions.

Another focal point will be the nexus of urbanisation, industrialisation and environmental pollution.

The museum is thus to serve as a place for critical consideration of past, present and future. It would unquestionably help to heighten general awareness of the decisive influence of industry on civilisation today.

Jens Flemming

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 7 September 1986)

Continued from page 10

thusiastic about the idea and willingly agreed.

Although Grabbe felt happy in this city it was no more than the last flickering of hope and courage.

The compromises accepted by Immermann and rejected by Grabbe finally led to an open quarrel and to Grabbe's return to Detmold in May 1836.

Ralph Fleischhauer

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 13 September 1986)

Krupp house: Hansel and Gretel beneath the decaying masonry

Villa Hügel, the Essen museum and former home of the Krupp dynasty, is so badly damaged by atmospheric pollution that a fifth of the masonry is being replaced.

Repair work has been going on for five years. One balcony has been demolished because it was structurally unsound.

Damage to the building, which is more than 100 years old, was much worse than originally thought and the cost of repair is likely to be five million marks, double the original estimate.

The villa is a hallmark of the grandeur to which a 19th century industrialist and one of Germany's leading business dynasties aspired.

Alfred Krupp planned his 200-room hilltop villa overlooking the Ruhr in 1868 as a home with facilities for living, for guests, for conferences and for festivities.

The Krupp's fourth family home was completed in 1873.

Guests at Villa Hügel have included the Kaiser and his retinue. Hitler and Mussolini met there. And Engelbert Humperdinck composed his fairy-tale opera *Hansel and Gretel* during a 10-month stay.

It was the family home until 1945 and redesigned by four generations. It has been an arts centre and museum since 1953. Exhibitions have been seen by over five million visitors.

Fried. Krupp GmbH gives the premises a full facelift every 15 to 20 years, yet despite various large-scale repairs and attempts to salvage the masonry pollution has had an increasingly telling effect.

Alfred Krupp had insisted on the exterior being smooth to ensure that drops of water could not gather anywhere, freeze and trigger the process of decay.

Visitors to the Dresden Baroque exhibition, which is not to end until November, will not notice much of the work.

Sandstone blocks up to 1.20 metres long and 80cm tall and from Chantilly, near Paris, where the original stone came from, are being sawn, hammered and chiselled at a mason's workshop in nearby Mülheim.

About 20 per cent of the masonry (and up to half in places) is so badly damaged that it needs replacing.

The south balcony has been demolished and replaced because it threatened to collapse.

The balcony's large floor and ceiling mosaics were destroyed in demolition and replaced by replicas using the original Italian material.

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 11 September 1986)

Hitler and Mussolini met here: Villa Hügel. It is now an arts centre and museum. (Photo: Krupp)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Dying trees shoved out of headlines, but dying they still are

The issue of tree deaths has been pushed out of the headlines by other topics. Chernobyl was one of them.

But despite the silence, the trees have not stopped dying.

The findings of this year's forest survey have yet to be published but visible damage is known to have increased.

This news must be viewed with caution, of course. Forest statistics have only been compiled on a uniform basis since 1984.

Besides, figures are not fully objective. Forestry officials first had to learn to spot the symptoms.

Even skilled observers cannot do so until well after the mystery killer has struck and the disease has reached an advanced stage.

So many trees that still look sound and healthy may yet prove to be sick and dying.

The first warning was sounded six years ago by a Göttingen forestry expert, Professor Ulrich, in a speech to the German Forestry Association.

The association, comprising experts, forestry officials and landowners, is holding its annual conference in Trier.

Professor Ulrich had spent years keeping a chemical balance-sheet of woodland in the Solling area, a region singled out by Unesco for its *International Biological Programme* as a



model intact eco-system far away from industrial conurbations.

He came across unexpectedly high counts of sulphur dioxide, acid rain, *soil changes and root damage.*

He then did something unusual (unusual for a scientist, that is): he ventured to forecast an alarming trend.

Sad to say, his gloomy forecast was proved right, even though the first draft of his hypothesis failed to conclusively account for all the symptoms subsequently observed in German forests.

Many other experts began to study them as scientific interest and research funds grew, which they soon did once the signs of damage were unmistakable.

In the search for what caused it about DM122m was invested in roughly 300 projects. More and more toxins were identified and fresh factors blamed for individual symptoms.

The advisory council on research into forest damage and atmospheric pollution set up by the Federal and *Land* governments in 1983 has now published the findings of its appraisal of these research projects.

Electromagnetic waves or radioactivity are not to blame. Neither are aviation or lead pollution. The same goes for virus or fungus infections, the panel reports.

Insufficient evidence has been unearthed to support these theories. Atmospheric pollution, roaming far and wide, is the only satisfactory explanation for such widespread damage.

It affects vegetation directly and indirectly, damaging leaves and needles and causing root damage and nutrient deficiency via acid rain.

Trees so weakened are, unsurprisingly, more liable to be hit by wind and snow, drought and pests.

There is, the experts say, no such thing as tree death in the sense of a specific disease. Nor, for that matter, is there any single cause.

The problem is due to a complex and confusing combination of processes for which atmospheric pollution of one kind and another is largely to blame.

Uncertainty remains. The scientific evidence is not conclusive and maybe never will be.

In analysing forest damage environmental research has inevitably left the *straight* and narrow road of cause and effect, a simple and reliable sequence to which we have been accustomed for decades.

In laboratory conditions only a cross-section of the complex goings-on in the woods and forests can be traced.

Interaction between different damage factors and long-term effect of small doses of toxin or pollution cannot be studied in a test-tube.

We must not feel doomed to inactivity by these gaps in what we know. Initial decisions to reduce atmospheric pollution have already been taken.

It will be some time before they take effect, so forestry will need to adjust to the change, as the tenor of debate at Trier clearly indicated.

How are forestry officials to handle pollution-hit trees in woods and forests that make up roughly a third of the country's surface area?

The problem isn't theirs alone. It isn't limited to the half a million landowners who mainly permit public access as a matter of course.

We all lay claim to and benefit from the green belt of woodland. It provides recreation. It helps to prevent erosion and landslides in the mountains.

It serves as a natural filter for ground water and, to its own detriment, as a filter extracting toxins from the air we breathe. So the health of the forest concerns us all.

Caroline Möhring

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 September 1986)

Huge increase in East Bloc pollution

MANNHEIMER MORGEN

Environmental pollution has increased dramatically in East Bloc countries, according to a report published by the research department of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

Environmental legislation is often superb on paper but abysmal on the ground, with water, soil and atmospheric pollution at high levels, the report claims.

Environmental protection measures are said to be either inadequate or half-hearted. In Russia, for instance, the 2,000-mile Yenissei is hopelessly polluted due to rapid development of Siberia.

In Togliatti, the Soviet car-making city, not one industrial enterprise has a waste tip of its own.

In East Germany atmospheric pollution by brown coal-fired power stations is said to be particularly serious, with coal-fired power stations accounting for 60 per cent of emission.

Water purity is reportedly a further problem, with only 17 per cent of major waterways still clean enough for their water to be used as a source of drinking-water.

dpa

(Mannheimer Morgen, 10 September 1986)

International effort to unlock secrets of maritime spring

Life at sea is unevenly distributed. Algae and plankton float in the water in irregular formations resembling clouds often miles long.

In between "clouds" there can be very little life in the sea, making it difficult for biologists to assess its overall health.

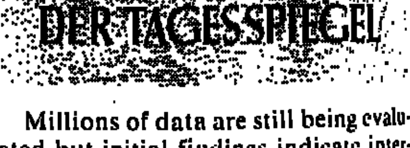
A fleet of 14 research vessels has patrolled an area of about 900 square miles south of the Swedish island of Gotland in the Baltic to take a closer look at this "cloud" phenomenon.

Scientists from the Federal Republic of Germany and five other Baltic countries took part in the experiment, codenamed Patchiness. It took place in spring, a time of biological activity at land and sea.

In the Baltic spring is usually between mid-April and mid-May and triggered by the increase in sunlight and warm water.

Minute water plants grow 10- to 100-fold, with the result that millions of green cells per litre hang around in the water.

In a previous experiment, in 1985, the plankton "blossom" failed to happen. This year scientists were luckier. Baltic spring was busy and active.



Millions of data are still being evaluated but initial findings indicate interesting conclusions on "cloud" formation.

The likeliest explanation is that the seed, plankton algae, which triggers the maritime spring is concentrated locally by oceanographical processes.

Wandering whirlpools are apparently the cause. Whirlpools hundreds of miles in diameter have been observed in the Atlantic in recent years.

In the Atlantic they carry warm water northward from the Equator, bringing northern Europe the "heating" that used to be attributed to the Gulf Stream.

Similar whirlpools were spotted about 10 years ago in the Baltic, where they are only about 10km in diameter.

In its operational area 44 by 20 nautical miles in size the 14-ship Baltic research fleet was able to study the passage of one such *whirlpool*.

The enrichment of *animal plankton* caused by this phenomenon does indeed seem to lead to biological "cloud" formation, although clouds scatter after a while.

Some algae are eaten by plankton-eating miniature crabs, leading in turn to a "cloud" of zoological plankton. Some algae also sink slowly to the seabed.

This dispersion of biological "clouds" was observed by scientists on board the Kiel-based research cutter *Littorina*, which spread nets from which algae were weighed and counted.

But findings are not yet scientifically substantiated to the extent that they could in any way be described as final.

Final findings will be presented at an international symposium to be held next summer, paving the way for realistic assessment and evaluation of Baltic measurement programmes.

Harald Steinert

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 14 September 1986)

Continued from page 8

figures a deterioration for the workers seems inevitable.

The Mannesmann management only wants to pay 85 instead of 90 per cent of the previous net income to persons retiring early.

The reason given for this is the general deterioration of the economic situation and the growing losses in the piping sector.

The employees at Mannesmann, however, are not willing to take this lying down.

They argue that the group's processing companies were bought with the revenue from the pipe production plants and that it is only right that the better-earning sections of the group should now help out the piping sector.

Managing director Dieter does not agree with this line of argument.

He concedes that "the pipe production plants were the basis for the diversification of the Mannesmann group in 1970".

He emphasises, however, that "money from the pipe production plants was not used for this purpose.

"The diversification of Mannesmann was primarily paid for by the money provided by our shareholders."

This contradicts a claim made by former managing director Weisweiler that the pipe works are the "cash cow" of the group.

What is more, the excellent dividends paid out to shareholders in the past because of the profits made by the piping sector made these shareholders willing in the first place to provide the funds Mannesmann needed to acquire shares in other companies.

Heinz-Günter Kemmer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 12 September 1986)

■ MEDICINE

Long Anton's bones tower over anatomical horror chamber

The scene is the dusty, deserted attic of a disused 460-year-old clinic at Marburg University.

Exhibits once used to demonstrate the human anatomy to generations of medical students are crated in disorderly fashion.

There is an overpowering smell of alcohol and decay, with clouds of dust obscuring the view of rare anatomical exhibits.

The several thousand items comprise some of the oldest in the country. It is one of the most varied collections in Germany.

They include hydrocephalic embryos preserved in alcohol, dried preparations taken from deformed halves of faces, shrunken muscles and samples of skin, plaster and wax casts of pathological growths on arms and feet, anatomical drawings and paintings of abnormally developed genitals.

Prepared nerves and blood vessels are also in store, finely probed and clearly outlined in their superficial connections by immersion in paint, as an 1830 catalogue conscientiously puts it.

A special cupboard houses a collection of skulls of criminals executed in Kassel in the second half of the 19th century, a collection misused for Nazi racial teachings during the Third Reich.

Wild legends and tales surround individual exhibits such as the tallest skeleton in Marburg, that of Long Anton, who was 2.50 metres (over 8ft) tall.

He must have scared the daylights out of his contemporaries as an officer serving with the Duke of Brunswick in about 1650.

A little is known about a humpbacked woman whose fully preserved trunk in cross-section is another of the exhibits. She was pregnant by a Marburg corps student who left her, whereupon she committed suicide.

This large collection of anatomical rarities was largely assembled by, or owed its survival to, anatomist Christian Heinrich Bünger, 1782-1842.

Professor Bünger's luggage included hundredweights of exhibits when he moved to Marburg in 1810 from Helmstedt University when it was closed down.

Professor Bünger felt duty bound to have his own body dissected when he died. His dried heart is kept in an ornate silver box; his skull is another exhibit.

The history of anatomy dates back to Ancient Greece and Hellenic Alexandria. From 1260 AD it increasingly took root in Italy and France, initially in the face of ecclesiastical resistance.

In 1300 Pope Boniface VIII aimed his bull *De sepulturis* at anatomists, whose aim of identifying what caused illnesses and how complex bodily functions worked failed to meet with his approval. In 1410 Alexander V was the first Pope to undergo a post-mortem in the interest of science. Autopsies grew steadily more popular. They became a fashionable event attended by scholars and civic dignities in an anatomical lecture theatre resembling nothing so much as an amphitheatre. In the 17th century a museum of anatomy was set up in Padua, Italy, followed by others in Leiden, Strasbourg and Paris. Catastrophic hygiene doubtless led to fellow-medics taking a dim view of anatomists. At Marburg, which was in a state of serious decline by 1810, the anatomy department was nicknamed the pestilence pit because of its smell of putrefying corpses.



Watch out! Plastics are sneaking up behind.

(Photo: Uli Severin)

Masceration of body tissue softened up to loosen it from the bones took place in barrels of chemical solution in the cellar. The bones were then bleached in the attic.

Conditions were so cramped that autopsies and dissection could not always be carried out with sufficient pleasure and accuracy, as Professor Bünger put it.

He complained to the Hesse Interior Ministry that the many preparations of corpses that were really hair-raising included injections of wax that had to be done in a constantly smoke-filled kitchen only 12ft in diameter.

On another occasion he complained that quarters were so cramped he had to lean many large skeletons against the stairs leading down into the yard, where they were ravaged by dogs and cats, rats and mice.

Anatomists such as Professor Bünger were always felt to be extremely odd and somehow out of touch with reality.

His students said he was so keen on his work that he only really felt at his ease in his dissecting theatre. He was by no means unusual in this respect.

Viennese anatomist Carl Rokitansky, 1804-1878, obducted between 1,000 and 1,500 corpses a year — seemingly without the slightest difficulty.

He and others like him were parodied by early 19th century German romantic novelist Jean Paul in *Dr. Katzenbergs Badereise*, the tale of an oddball and unscrupulous anatomist.

In the early 19th century not even the government of Hesse was able to meet the anatomists' seemingly endless demand for corpses.

The Marburg department constantly complained of a shortage of material.

By law the university was entitled to the corpses of executed criminals and of those who died in orphanages, hospitals and prisons.

It was also entitled to dissect the mortal remains of stillborn illegitimate babies and babies of prostitutes who had given birth to three or more children out of wedlock.

Then there were the bodies of unclaimed accident victims and people who died in lunatic asylums who had been unable to pay for their upkeep.

As Bünger's predecessor in the chair of anatomy at Marburg put it, the poorest of the poor were thus at least able to serve the state in this way by having their corpses put to good use.

About a century later the Nazis were little less scrupulous. An 18 February 1939 decree ruled that prison dead were to be sent to university departments of anatomy as teaching and research material.

In principle the next of kin had first claim on their bodies. In practice this

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES
SONNTAGSBLATT

right was all too often virtually a dead letter.

Nowadays anatomists have long ceased to be keen on sinking their scalpels into as much material as possible. Boring mass-produced plastic models now reveal what we look like inside.

Yet corpses are still dissected at universities all over the country, although students are not always keen. Thirty to 40 corpses a year are needed in Marburg.

They are often the bodies of men and women who have bequeathed their bodies to be used in scientific research.

There are plans to classify the Marburg collection and display it in museum fashion; funds have been applied for.

That would be just what Professor Bünger would have wanted. He was keen to see the layman walking round exhibits without the slightest nausea, as though he were going round an art gallery.

That, he said, was the only way an anatomical collection could be of general benefit: by educating a wider public and putting paid to prejudice.

Jörg Feuck

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 14 September 1986)

■ THE MEDIA

How TV affects the mind: US author accused of 'primitive vision of the future'

Neil Postman is probably the most widely read and oftquoted media authority in the United States. He is the author of two non-fiction bestsellers, *The Disappearance of Childhood* and *Amusing Ourselves to Death*.



His books deal mainly with commercial television in the United States, but 144,000 copies have been sold in German-speaking countries.

Now researcher Professor Hertha Sturm has attacked Professor Postman's theories. In a lecture in Frankfurt, she said she agreed that television posed a threat to cultural, political and emotional life.

But, she said, Postman's visions of the future were "just as primitive as they are incorrect". They ignored reliable research findings and were based on inadmissible generalisations and global simplifications.

Postman's main misconception was to presume that all viewers were affected by TV viewing in the same way.

She pointed out that before programmes triggered an impact they were assimilated by human beings "with their intelligence, their age and their emotional responses — the diversity of the personal experience which has gradually evolved".

The fact that Postman had ignored the viewer as an individual and also viewed all TV programmes *en bloc* had led to other errors.

Postman's *The Disappearance of Childhood* is the more harmless of the two best-sellers, she maintains.

In it Postman claimed that television made the adult world accessible to children and thus levels off age-specific differences.

This could only occur, of course, if the child were able to comprehend the programmes produced for adults.

Sturm contrasts this idea with a "scientifically founded fact", that children were unable to interrelate concrete pictures and abstract words until they were 10.

This ability was a prerequisite for the comprehension of complex programmes.

The really adverse effects on children, she claims, took place in the emotional sphere, since the children were constantly forced to mentally digest the sudden emergence and disappearance of images which triggered emotions. This was the "more harmless error".

One of Postman's major errors, however, she said, was to omit entirely the aspect of how the impact of TV programmes varies depending on how it is presented.

Cuts, pan shots, zoom shots and alternations of the spoken word and the visual image influenced the viewer's receptive and learning ability, say both Sturm and several American researchers.

For example, TV used a rapid succession of these techniques (as in the American news shows) the viewer would primarily engaged in following the picture and unable to pay proper attention to the content.

Sturm is convinced, however, that just a few changes are needed to enable TV programmes which are more viewer-friendly.

Postman's conclusions in the field of the emotional impact of TV, Sturm stresses, were oversimplified.

Postman implied that TV could be equated with entertainment and amusement and thus completely disregarded the "findings of the theory of emotional arousal".

According to this theory fast-moving pictures on the screen result in physiological arousal, e.g. a faster pulse-beat and slight perspiration when watching thrillers.

In this state the viewer is almost mesmerised by television and finds it difficult to step out of this "trance".

She feels that this no longer has anything to do with amusement.

Above all, people who watched a great deal of television could quite easily be emotionally upset or disturbed.

This, however, was not a case of "amusing oneself to death", Sturm emphasised.

She does, however, agree with Postman when he says that the increased viewing of entertainment programmes poses a threat to democracy.

Relating to the West German context Sturm explained: "In my opinion our current media situation is primarily marked by a host of 'charlatanisms, where the respective market criers have no idea what the ingredients or impact of the product is which they just happens to be praising."

A further disturbing development was the party-political bias of certain programmes and the fatal tendency to mistake propaganda for the real thing. Democracy was in danger of becoming unrecognisable.

Sturm also feels that scientific research did not help improve the situation, since the many "Who's watching what" surveys did not encompass the dangerous division of society into those who watched a lot of television and those who watched hardly any.

The resultant effect of this trend was that "the ignorant more ignorant and the intelligent become more intelligent."

As opposed to Neil Postman, however, Hertha Sturm does see rays of hope, both in the behaviour of viewers as well of programme producers.

"I have the impression that there is a growing pensiveness and that this pensiveness relates not only to the media, but also to a wider area: to scientists, politicians, and finally our neglected democracy too."

Rainer Tief

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 September 1986)

Better news telecasts seen as way to hit private challenge

Better news and current affairs programmes are the answer to the rising challenge of private television, says the editor-in-chief of the TV broadcasting network ZDF, Reinhard Appel.

He says lowering programme standards to rope in even greater audiences had no future. More and more basic entertainment could not be the answer.

Appel feels it is time to recall what television initially set out to do: better news and current affairs programmes and even broadly educational programmes werre needed.

This meant providing programmes for minorities too, who would otherwise be ignored because, by definition, there are not many of them.

Many viewers, Appel says, are much more demanding than the producers of mass entertainment programmes would have us believe.

Appel's plea for more background reports and detailed programmes on economic and social policy issues does not imply that TV should become even "more boring" or "indoctrinating".

The intention is not for TV to place itself above the viewers and educate them.

Such an approach would be little better than the way the audience is treated by the professionals of the non-stop entertainment industry. Citizens (and feepayers) should simply be taken seriously.

This could not be achieved by making programmes "noisier, more colourful, faster, more operetta-like — more infantile" just to keep pace with the private broadcasters.

The weekly newspaper, *Die Zeit* warned last year against seeking salvation in even more series like *Dallas*, *Magnum* or *Hits am laufenden Band*.

The top management officials in the ZDF and ARD networks would do well to read what *Die Zeit* and Appel say.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 10 September 1986)

Multi-language newspapers with a communal message

Almost 100 publications in West Germany are published in more than one language with the aim of improving relations between Germans and foreigners.

Magazine names indicate their objectives: *Arkadas* (The Friend), *Dostluk* (Friendship), *Mannheim da Yasam* (Living in Mannheim) or *Die Brücke* (The Bridge).

The Bonn-based Association of Initiative Groups for Foreigners has compiled a list of them — a colourful assortment of mixed-language newspapers and magazines that operate on shoestring budgets and which would probably fold if it were not for enthusiastic volunteer workers.

There is a political magazine which discusses the problems facing foreigners in two languages. There are more glossy magazines and local Turkish newspapers which take up special problem areas.

The editorial staffs are generally mixed and hope that their publications will be read by Germans and foreigners.

The newspapers are published in German, bilingually and in some cases even in six languages.

"Monolingual newspapers do not have such an effective integrative function," says Geylani Yetka from the Kurdish Inistitute in Bonn.

Mizgin, the Institute newspaper, which sets out to give Kurds in the Federal Republic of Germany a "new orientation", is published in German and Kurdish. This newspaper, therefore, also helps Kurds learn German.

Bizim Almanca (Our German), a colourful magazine for Turks in the Federal Republic, has opted for bilingualism.

Difficult German words, for example, in articles dealing with the subject of deporation (German: *Abschiebung*), are then explained separately.

Just like in *Arkadas*, the newspaper of the Turkish teachers' association, the German and Turkish languages are presented side by side.

All articles are published in both languages — in German on the left-hand side and in Turkish on the right-hand side.

Apart from the integrational aspect there is a practical reason for bilingual publications.

"A bilingual magazine," explains Geylani Yekta from the Kurdish Institute, "is cheaper than two monolingual magazines."

Most of the mixed-language newspapers suffer from a a lack of money.

The newspaper *WIR — ausländische Mitbürger* (We — Fellow Foreign Citizens) in Frankfurt, one of the first publications of this kind for foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany with a circulation figure of 40,000, had to stop publishing in March 1985 because it had run into financial difficulties.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Without dedicated workers, generous donors or loyal subscribers the newspapers don't stand a chance of survival.

Most of them rely on the support of various associations and clubs for foreigners.

The *Sindelfinger Palette*, for example is published by a workgroup in Sindelfingen which deals with problems relating to foreigners and is pieced together in seven languages: German, Turkish, Yugoslavian, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and Greek.

The *Palette* is distributed with a circulation of 26,000 to all households and hopes that this will help reduce prejudice against foreigners.

In these newspapers foreigners are able to find out more about issues relating to the aliens' policy in the Federal Republic in their own language.

The publications give them hints on how to deal with everyday problems.

The *Mannheim da Yasam* has a very similar concept and is distributed with a circulation of 3,000 to Turks living in Mannheim.

"We want to enable a better life for our fellow Turks," says Ugur Kisioglu, the initiator of this local newspaper, *Yasam* includes information on natu-

Continued on page 15

■ LEISURE

The annual pilgrimage in search of a long, hot, dry autobahn snarl up

More than half the West German population will have been on holiday by the time the summer is over; almost 50 billion marks will have been paid over for holidays in foreign climes.

The German camping club reports a record year, with more people than ever clearing out to camps with their caravans or tents.

Others braved the heat and the traffic jams to head for the beaches of the south. Many flew to Spain, Greece or Turkey. A people on the move. The reason is that they once again have more money to spend. Dropping oil prices have helped.

A Goethe contemporary once observed that travelling is the only life. In those fargone days, travelling was fraught with difficulties, but at least one was able to proceed in a forward direction.

These days, travelling is more comfortable, but sometimes it means marking time. The Gods have established a thing called a traffic jam. This summer there have been better and longer tailbacks than at anytime on record.

The jams are not only caused by traffic heading from the cooler north to the holiday destinations of the south: the beginning of the holiday season in North Rhine-Westphalia coincided with the end of Swedish holidays. Hordes of Swedes bottled up the autobahns heading north. At one stage, the final 12 kilometre stretch to reach the ferry terminal at Puttgarten on the northern coast took eight hours.

One Swede remarked how happy he was to have found refuge on the ship. he would now be able to recover at home. Until the next time.

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

And there is always a next time. Tailbacks don't, obviously, put people off. On the contrary, they have changed people's behaviour patterns. The tailback is a senseless thing to get involved with if you know you are going to get involved with it. But that it what people do. It has created a new sort of mentality: that being on the way is better than actually being there.

One expert on autobahn tailbacks says that for many, the tailback is the first meaningful experience of the holiday.

Another expert has diagnosed in people a neurotic desire for a tailback. By comparison, the features a holiday destination has to offer are pallid: mountains sitting in fixed positions, and sea, sand and sunburn. Predictable. Boring.

Perhaps there are even unconscious desires not to reach a destination. There are plenty of reasons for thinking so. Most of the beaches in Italy are so filthy that swimming ought to be prohibited. The guilt lies not only with the Italians and the effluent they allow to float out in generous amounts. It is also with the tourists themselves, who tend to despoil what they like.

However, the yearning to drive south lies deeply embedded in the psyche. Which brings us to a new point: some tourists in Majorca sued because a construction crane worked before their hotel window and because underneath was a disco which went most of the night.

The judge said that it is well known that many holiay centres are not listed for their peace and quiet. Many holidaymakers don't want peace and quiet, he said. There seems to have been a change in mentality, with people avoiding tranquillity.

This might be a hint for the Austrians, who are worried by the drop in German tourists. Perhaps they might think along lines of Club Méditerrané, with entertainment staff to gee everybody along. But, on second thoughts, a change of taste might not be enough.

Those Germans who holiday in Austria and who would never think of venturing further to Yugoslavia or Greece are clearly a dying breed. The younger generation think Austria is boring and wet. They want to lie in the sun and "experience" something.

The new breed of holidaymaker doesn't only want to see lakes and mountains; he or she is prepared to get professional advice about getting away from the tedium. Everything else can be organised, so why not leisure?

There are also holidaymakers who organise their own activities. You can recognise them straight away. They are motorcyclists, sports boat and windsurfing types and they take their equipment on the car roof rack or tow it behind them — the packed-for-travel glider on the road.

This sort of person judges the scenery purely from its functional nature. Can it be used? Romance has nothing to do with it.

In some popular stretches of water there are sometimes now so many sailboards that one local was moved to remark that once upon a time, the water was visible.

Werner Birkenmaier

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 September 1986)

Worried tourist industry takes its brief to Parliament

The German tourist industry is worried that its problems are not being taken seriously enough by the politicians. This is bad, says the industry's association, DFV (Deutsche Fremndenverkehrsverband), because the international competition is increasing.

RHEINISCHE POST

It says that at the height of the season, tourism employs 1.7 million people and there is hardly a ministry in either Bonn or the *Länder* that is not somehow involved with it — yet politically, the attitude towards the industry is passive.

Now the DFV has submitted its ideas to to Bonn. Its submissions include thoughts on items such as environmental protection, road construction, rail and road transport, compilation of statistics and image projection.

It says that although tourism is a significant economic factor when such things as city day trips, conferences and the like are included as well as the usual holidays for recuperation, there are no up-to-date statistics to use for planning.

Two questions were tabled in the Bundestag on behalf of DFV and although they were answered, the answers were not specific enough, says the organisation.

A spokesman said the homework had been done and now it was a matter of waiting until something concrete happened. The DFV had expected at least a Bundestag debate, but this is now unlikely.

One of the complaints is that there is a lack of officials competent to discuss tourism. The experts are spread around the various ministries. A coordination unit was needed. The DFV would like to see a State Secretary of Tourism. There had been talk about a ministry, but hopes of that had faded.

Now there are hopes that a lower level Bundestag committee might be formed to handle the industry's problems.

Tourism is basically the business of each community that takes tourists. They are responsible for any ideas. But there are certain things that can only be done from above, says the DFV. These include such possibilities as labelling certain streets that might be interesting for tourists; and listing areas which might attract people who are passing through.

A DFV official said tourism is a growth industry and not the least of its assets was that it employed a lot of people. There were often problems with effective marketing. For example, it was often simpler to book a safari in Kenya than a room in a German holiday centre simply because many individual tourist centres could not afford moderm, centralised booking systems.

The DFV also wants holiday dates to be better arranged with foreign countries to keep the traffic more consistent.

Hans Bensmann

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 12 September 1986)

Where German tourists like going

Percentage. More than one answer per respondent accounts for total over 100

Destination	%
Cities	9
River valleys	15
Foothills	25
North Sea, Baltic	27
Mediterranean, Atlantic coast	44
Islands	32
Lakes	24
Mountains	23
Lowlands	10

Source: Tourist study group

All mod cons without a room

Allgemeine Zeitung

Police at Dieburg, near Darmstadt, could not believe their eyes. On the footpath a man slept soundly on a couch in an almost completely furnished open-air bed-sitting room. The 36-year-old man had carefully chosen the couch from a pile of discarded furniture waiting for the council rubbish truck.

When topers at a nearby bar noticed the sleeping man, they got to work and, from other collections of unwanted furniture and bric-a-brac in the area, carefully oompleted the soene.

As the man slept blissfully on, they hung curtains and a light from an overhanging tree, laid a carpet and a hide mat in front of the couch, installed a dressing table to one side, stood a bread-slicing machine on top of it, and put a television set and an upright lamp on the other side.

The police established that neither the furniture nor the sleeper were causing any interference, so they discreetly withdrew.

dpa

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 11 September 1986)

Continued from page 14

ralisation or training opportunities for young people as well as practical hints on how to deal with German authorities.

As opposed to *Yasam*, which is only published in the Turkish language and intended for Turkish readers only, *Die Brücke* from Saarbrücken is intended for the wider target group of all foreigners in the Federal Republic.

Die Brücke does not see itself as a service brochure for migrant workers, but addresses those who are actively involved in work with foreigners.

"We want to provide a forum for discussion," says *Brücke* publisher Necati Mert.

The articles mainly relate to aliens policy and integration policy questions.

Another special feature of the *Brücke* is that it is published in German.

After all, this is the common language of all foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany.

epd

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 9 September 1986)